UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Boundaries of an Urban Minority:

The Helsinki Jewish Community from the End of Imperial Russia until the 1970s

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze how ethnic-boundary drawing has been influenced in the urban context by the turbulent events of twentieth-century Europe. The analysis is specifically applied to the social boundaries of the small Helsinki Jewish community from the early twentieth century until the 1970s.

In the period covered by this research, Helsinki evolved from a multilingual and heterogeneous military town of the Russian empire into the capital of an independent nation. As one of the few Eastern European Orthodox Jewish communities not destroyed in the Holocaust, the history of the Helsinki Jewish community offers a different set of spatial contexts that make this history an empirical case study of changing ethnic relations from one generation to another.

My study suggests that empirical materials can be used as clues for teasing into existence the long-vanished practices of boundary-drawing done at various times in the past. Collecting and organizing information in archives is always guided by decisions that reflect the contemporary ideas of relevant and meaningful social categories. Consequently, as Jews 'in Finland' became Finnish Jews, the ethnic background subsequently lost its distinction in the archival material; in short, the sources gradually became "mute" in this respect. My research strategy is to focus on questions concerning the economic aspects of social boundaries, for example, whether the members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation were entrepreneurs or were self-employed.

I have operationalized occupational status to analyze changes in the social position of the community. The occupational titles were collected from three different cross-section years and organized by using a Historical International Classification of Occupations (HISCO) Scheme. By combining the occupational titles with the data on the Jewish-owned companies, I have established a set of descriptive statistics. Supported by the findings of this empirical material, my study analyzes how the concept of Finnish Jews has taken shape over the entire period of this study.

Contemporaries writing about the Jews of Finland did not use concepts of 'ethnic boundaries,' but nevertheless considered questions related to economic aspects as the key elements in modern societies. Such questions were a constant theme in modern economic antisemitism with a major influence on Jewish policies, such as the restriction of Jewish occupations in Finland until 1918, which in turn influenced the (counter-)narratives of Jewish business. This is what makes the Jewish occupations so interesting – and also makes discussing them such a sensitive issue.

The community is an important part of the history of Helsinki, but it has only been accepted as a part of the larger Finnish society since the Second World War. During this process, Jews were clearly less frequently categorized as Jews and more frequently categorized by the professions they represented.

In this study I have contextualized different aspects of what has been selected and written down as Finnish-Jewish history. This involves discovering the political positions of its various authors. All histories on the Finnish Jews have been written during the post-Second World War period and, in consequence, are unavoidably viewed through post-Shoah/Cold War lenses. In these writings, the national and transnational aspects are totally severed and become, indeed, mutually exclusive.

The Jewish history of Helsinki is often told as a collective story, where each generation faces similar challenges and options. In this way, the past has been described as a joint striving for all Finnish Jews. In reality, wide economic differences have played an important role in what is ultimately a business-oriented community. In this narrative, the Jewish history has been reduced to a bare minimum in order to serve as a collective story. Consequently, in the histories of the city of Helsinki, Jews have either been described as poor, or they have not been remembered at all.

Abstract in Finnish (Tiivistelmä)

Tutkimuksessa analysoin Euroopan 1900-luvun suurten murrosten vaikutuksia kaupunkiväestön etnisiin suhteisiin. Tarkastelun kohteena on Helsingin juutalaisyhteisö 1900-luvun alusta 1970-luvulle.

Tutkimusajanjaksolla Helsinki muuttui Venäjän keisarikunnan monikielisestä varuskuntakaupungista itsenäisen valtion pääkaupungiksi. Helsingin juutalaisyhteisö oli yksi niistä harvoista Itä-Euroopan ortodoksijuutalaisista yhteisöistä, joita ei tuhottu holokaustissa. Tämä luo ainutlaatuisen historiallisen asetelman etnisten ja sosiaalisten suhteiden pitkän aikavälin empiiriselle tarkastelulle.

Tutkimukseni osoittaa, että historialliset aineistot ovat hyödyllisiä etnisyyden tutkimuksessa tehdessään näkyväksi erilaisia rajanvetojen kerrostumia. Asiakirjalähteet heijastavat aikalaisten tekemiä luokitteluja, koska ne on koottu ja järjestetty sen perustella, mitä aikalaiset ovat pitäneet tietämisen ja säilyttämisen arvoisena. Tutkimusajanjaksollani Suomessa asuvista juutalaisista tuli suomenjuutalaisia. Aineistossa prosessi näkyy etniseen taustaan liittyvien luokittelujen vähenemisenä. Aineistot ”vaikenevat” vähitellen asioista, joita ei ole enää pidetty yhteiskunnallisesti merkittävänä. Tutkimusstrategiani on lähestyä etnistä rajanvetoa talouteen liittyvien kysymysten kautta, esimerkiksi tarkastelemalla, ovatko Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan jäsenet työskennelleet palkansaajina vai toimineet yrittäjinä

Yhteisön sosiaalisen aseman analysoimiseen käytän ammattiasemaan liittyviä määreitä. Yhteisön ammattirakenne on kartoitettu kolmelta eri poikkileikkausvuodelta ja ammattinimikkeiden jaotteluun olen käyttänyt HISCO (Historical International Classification of Occupations) -luokitusjärjestelmää. Olen rekonstruoinut yhteisön ammattirakenteessa tapahtuneita muutoksia yhdistämällä ammattinimikkeisiin tietoja yrittäjyydestä. Näiden empiiristen havaintojen kautta olen tarkastellut, miten käsitys suomenjuutalaisuudesta on kehittynyt tutkimusajanjaksolla.

Vaikka aikalaiset eivät puhuneet etnisen rajanvedon käsitteillä, he olivat kiinnostuneita vähemmistöjen taloudellisesta asemasta. Talous on ollut merkittävä osa antisemitististä retoriikkaa, mikä on vaikuttanut juutalaispolitiikkaan –juutalaisten ammatteja koskevat rajoitukset olivat voimassa Suomessa vuoteen 1918. Tällä oli myös vaikutusta juutalaisen yrittäjyyden (vasta)narratiiviin. Jännite tekee suomenjuutalaisten ammattirakenteen tutkimisesta kiinnostavaa, mutta samalla vaativaa.

Helsingin juutalaiset hyväksytty osaksi Suomen historiaa vasta toisen maailmansodan jälkeen, vaikka ovat olleet keskeinen osa pääkaupungin historiaa. Kehityskulku näkyy aineistossani siten, että yksilöitä ei enää luokiteltu juutalaisina vaan ammattikuntiensa edustajina.

Tutkimuksessani olen myös tarkastellut suomenjuutalaisten historiankirjoituksessa tehtyjä valintoja ja rajauksia mm. kirjoittajien poliittisten näkemysten kautta. Suomenjuutalaisia käsittelevä historiankirjoitus on toisen maailmansodan jälkeiseltä ajalta, minkä vuoksia tarkastelua on rajannut holokaustin jälkeisen ajan ja kylmän sodan reunaehdot. Kansallinen näkökulma on sulkenut pois transnationaalisen, eikä kansainvälisiä kysymyksiä ole johdettu koskemaan suomenjuutalaisia.

Helsingin juutalaisten historia esitetään usein kollektiivisena kertomuksena, jossa jokainen sukupolvi kohtaa yhdessä haasteita. Näin kertomuksesta muokkautuu suomenjuutalaisten yhteinen kokemus. Kuitenkin yrittäjyyteen suuntautuneen yhteisön sisällä on ollut suuria taloudellisia eroja. Juutalaisten historia on kaiken kaikkiaan jäänyt alisteiseksi kansalliselle kertomukselle. Sen seurauksena Helsingin kaupunkia koskevassa historiankirjoituksessa juutalaiset on kuvattu joko köyhinä, tai heitä ei ole mainittu lainkaan.

Acknowledgments

Good things in life are often a combination of goal-oriented resolve and lucky coincidences. It was originally pure chance that, from among the subjects provided by the faculty of social sciences at the University of Helsinki, economic and social history became my major. There could hardly exist another scholarly unit, here or elsewhere, that could compete in terms of a similar composition of knowledge, skills, and intellectual ambitions, combined with a great dose of academic freedom well spiced with an excellent sense of humor beyond description.

I have been interested in urban minority communities long before I could discuss the topic in such terms. There is, however, no single explanation why or how I came to study the Helsinki Jewish congregation. Whenever asked, I give different explanations depending on the given context. Much is, however, accredited to the Helsinki Jewish Congregation. My access to the local Jewish archives has of course been instrumental. I therefore want to express my collective thanks to the local Jewish community for their unfailing support over the years. Many people have given their useful advice, shared family anecdotes, or shown general interest towards my research.

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the Kone Foundation, the Academy of Finland project Managing Social Capital in a Changing Economy, by the Finnish Graduate School for History for the funding of this research.

My supervisors Prof. Susanna Fellman and Docent Antti Häkkinen have devoted much time and effort toward instructing me on how to build up a relevant argument from fragmentary pieces of interesting information. Antti and Susanna, I wholeheartedly thank you for your generosity and patience. Each sharp question has always been followed by much-needed advice on how to proceed.

Many, many more people have contributed to this study with their valuable comments and insights, hints about useful literature or archival material, ideas on how to do research in history and social sciences. My thanks go to the teachers, fellows, and friends in social science history. Special thanks go to Sakari Saaritsa and Miika Tervonen for commenting on parts of the manuscript and to Prof. Marjatta Rahikainen for our long and interesting debates concerning the terminology. My thanks are extended to fellows I have met at workshops and summer schools, especially to my colleagues at the institutes of economic history in the universities of Stockholm and Gothenburg.

I wish to especially acknowledge the contribution of two good friends. This study could not have been completed had there not been the foundational work done by the expert on Yiddish culture and Jewish studies in Finland, Docent Simo Muir. Simo, your thoughtful, informed comments have proved invaluable, and I thank you for all the time you have taken to discuss the research field and for reading my text.

Nancy Peterson has pre-proofed the text and given endless assistance on the vocabulary and syntax of English. Over the years, hundreds and hundreds of inspiring e-mails have fired back and forth between Helsinki and Rhode Island. Nancy, my “Borneo sister,” I don’t know how to thank you enough for your many wise words and for the encouragement you have given me to pursue my goals.

I would also like to express my very great appreciation to the two official examiners of this work. Docent Rita Bredefeldt from the University of Stockholm and Prof. Pertti Haapala from the University of Tampere gave their clear, constructive critical comments and suggestions for improving the study which I have tried to apply to the best of my ability.

I had the great privilege of having Lisa Muszynski revise the language of this study. With her double expertise in academic writing and philosophy, having the language proofed by her became an intellectually nurturing experience, which I have truly enjoyed – so much so that it seems nearly

impossible to stop editing and just let go. Elina Sana has kindly read and revised the final manuscript. Needless to say, all possible mistakes whether linguistic or factual are mine alone.

Finally, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my family, friends, and family-friends. The help and support I have gotten for the different aspects of combining research and family life has been overwhelming. I am indebted to my parents Merja and Risto Ekholm and in-laws for their consistent understanding and encouraging outlook.

My husband Teemu Suominen and two daughters deserve a special line for their patience. The fact is that my girls have only ever known me as a mother with deadlines, who works on something called a PhD. Whereas for Teemu, the once easy-going girl he married transmuted into a person with a tendency for becoming completely obsessed with research-based tasks. Teemu, I am grateful for all your help. I truly admire your ability to stay calm, set priorities, and remind me to draw the much-needed boundaries between life and scholarly work.

Helsinki, 23 September 2013.

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Abbreviations

BRAGE	Brage's Press clip Archives
CA	The City Archives of Helsinki.
EC	The Ephemera Collection, National Library of Finland
ELKA	The Central Archive of Finnish Business Record
NA	The National Archives of Finland.
OSF	The Official Statistics of Finland.
PRH	The National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
TR	Trade registers

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Transcriptions

The city of Helsinki is a bilingual town where all the street names and public buildings have names in both Swedish and Finnish (or Finnish and Swedish – depending on what era is under discussion). The old Helsinki phone catalogues had a practical attitude in this matter: the names appeared in the language that best suited any given context. In order to avoid confusion for a present reader, who is most likely to find the information in the Finnish form, I sometimes give both Finnish and Swedish names. This is why I talk simultaneously of the current capital city of Finland as both Helsingfors (Swedish) and Helsinki (Finnish), and of the previous capital city (until 1812) as both Åbo (Swedish) and Turku (Finnish).

Most languages of the Baltic region have been used by the inhabitants of Helsinki. The Jewish community of Helsinki is a good examble of this multipresence of languages. The sources used in this study are mostly in Swedish, Finnish, and German, but the texts are influenced and have references to Yiddish, Russian, Hebrew, English, and Polish.

1. Introduction and Research Questions

There is an apparent contradiction in conceptions of urban, transnational, minority communities. Their world is by definition built upon the complexity of local networks that reach across national borders, that cross linguistic boundaries, and that experience the kinds of cultural encounters that gradually change them in their local settings. And yet, their very existence depends upon trans-generational continuity which ultimately makes the minority communities appear remarkably stable in their historical consciousness. To investigate such an apparent contradiction between the forces of continuity and change, this study focuses on aspects of the economic and social history of the Jewish community in Helsinki from the early twentieth century until the 1970s.

The objective of this study is thus twofold. First, I will study occupational boundaries of the local Jewish community over a long period of time. Second, the data on Jewish occupations and Jewish-owned companies is compared to and contrasted with the way the history of the local Jews has been written and narrated.

Typical of small minority communities, the Helsinki Jews have a strong historical consciousness. The history of the Jews in Finland is strongly bound to certain developmental stages. It is a special form of the "from-rags-to-riches" story, where a poor community with a marginal social status has been able to establish a firm middle-class position. Although the economic aspects – the means for gaining a livelihood, education, and available options – indeed play an important role in this story, the process itself has never been analyzed.

The Jews in Finland are among the very few Eastern European Orthodox Jewish communities that were not destroyed in the Holocaust. The community remained intact because Finland was not occupied during the Second World War, neither by the Soviet Union nor by Germany. As post-Second World War Finland remained outside the Socialist bloc, a unique historical continuity was possible for Jewish communities. What ultimately follows from this are gaps and contradictions in how the history of the Helsinki Jews can be told and narrated. Although one may talk about the same Helsinki-based families, their stories become different in the national context in comparison to the Jewish context. The narrative, the means of making sense of reality and of sharing it with others, becomes different accordingly.

This study focuses ultimately on the city of Helsinki. It is the social sphere where local, everyday life takes place: schools, friends, neighbors and commercial life. Moreover, although the history of Finland is dominant, it is only one of the many contexts that have been taken into account, rather than being the locus of analysis as a whole. The community I am studying belongs to a people with some of the deepest historical roots of the city; some families had been living in Helsinki since the 1830s, whereas most of the inhabitants in the rapidly growing city were new to the place long after Helsinki Jews arrived. Not many youth growing up in turn-of-the-century Helsinki had parents who were born in the city. At the same time, the majority of the newcomers to Helsinki had their roots in the Finnish countryside, whereas the Jews had their extended family networks in places like Łomża, Łódź, Gomel, but also in individual cases in St Petersburg, Stockholm and Berlin.

The city of Helsinki was a rapidly growing capital in an urbanizing but, until the 1960s, predominantly agrarian country. Over the period covered by my research, Helsinki evolved from a characteristically multilingual and heterogeneous town into the capital of an

independent nation.[1] This process meant gradual changes from a provincial capital populated by a substantial number of inhabitants with "an immigrant background" into the capital city of a nation-state. After independence the borders became virtually closed to immigration. In the growing capital city of Finland, the entire Jewish community could have fit into one city block. Yet it had a steady, though little studied, part in the social and economic history of the town.

The literature often discusses "Finnish Jews" in reference to the three original Jewish congregations on Finnish territory: Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri. The Jewish communities of Turku and, until 1944, Viipuri (today Vyborg, in Russia) were significantly smaller than that of Helsinki. In 1930 there were 1032 people in the Helsinki Jewish congregation, 255 people in Turku and 312 in Viipuri.[2] My focus is solely on the Helsinki Jewish congregation, while the families living in Turku and Viipuri have not been included in the analyses. However, the Viipuri congregation was evacuated to Tampere in 1944 after Finland lost the war with the Soviet Union in 1944.[3]

The literature divides the local Jewish history into three periods: i) the Imperial era when Jews in Finland did not have civil rights and the composition of the Jewish community was based on arbitrary special permissions; ii) the interwar period during which the legal status of Jews was recognized, yet they clearly were regarded as a "foreign element" to use the then contemporary term; and, finally, iii) the post-Second World War period with a dual identity of Finnishness and Jewishness which one can choose to emphasize as one likes.[4] So far, however, only a few studies have concerned the post-war period.[5]

The Helsinki Jewish congregation refers to the official embodiment of the entire community, i.e., the synagogue, its leadership, and its members. The Helsinki Jewish community is a broader concept also including people who were not formally members of the congregation, including the non-Jewish spouses of married Jews. Although there is a distinction between these two terms, I mostly use them as synonyms.

Modern Jewish history is as much about rapid and profound change as is modern Finnish history, if not more so. Therefore, taking a longer historical perspective clarifies why the studies about ethnic groups and minorities start with the ethnic boundaries. Both Finnish society and Jewish communities have gone through constant, rapid and profound cultural and social changes. What seems to have been much more stable, though, are the ethnic boundaries between Jews and Finns. If this is so, then why is it that some social boundaries are so stable, if the "cultures" within the demarcated social groups are in such constant flux? Here is yet another dimension of the problem of continuity and change under examination in this thesis.

I argue that this dimension of continuity and change is a crucial part of understanding transnational minority communities, their history as well as their role in history in the era of nation-states. Furthermore, studying urban minorities is crucial for understanding the history of cities.

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[1] Recently, social historians have shown that the history of Finland as a homogenous nation is partly based on myth (e.g., Häkkinen & Tervonen 2004; Häkkinen & Tervonen 2005; Fewster 2006; Tervonen 2010).

[2] Judisk Årsbok för Finland 1930 ("The Yearbook"), 9.

[3] The Tampere congregation was dissolved in 1981 (Harviainen 2000; on the Viipuri community, see Hartikainen 1998).

[4] Lundgren 2002; Burstein 1988; Torvinen 1989.

[5] Burstein 1988, Torvinen 1989.

There are three different perspectives on the value of such a study. First, it is a case study bringing historical perspective to questions concerning ethnicity and entrepreneurship. It is also a unique chapter of a remote corner of the economic and social history of Jewish Europe. Lastly, it is an important, yet little remembered part of the local history of Helsinki.

My approach is microhistorical in the sense that I am looking at one small Jewish community with an extraordinary position in the twentieth-century history of East European Jews.[6] Until World War One the community was in many ways a typical small Jewish community in the Russian Empire outside the Jewish homelands, the so-called Pale of Settlement.[7]

My approach is to use occupational profiles to study ethnic boundaries. There are both empirical and theoretical arguments for this research strategy. Ever since the 1960s, the labor market has been identified as *"the key institution that opens up opportunities for the greater acceptance of ethnic groups."*[8] Traditionally, Jews in Helsinki were strongly associated with the textile, garment, and fur industries with businesses in manufacturing, wholesale, and retail. All this clearly had a great impact on the social relations of the community. Jews were associated with petty entrepreneurship and vice versa – sometimes being in the textile and garment retail or wholesale was enough for rumors of a Jewish background.

My aim is to show that by analyzing occupational and business structure, one may better understand how these aspects are interrelated. My approach is to focus primarily on questions concerning the economic aspects of social boundaries such as whether the Jews were entrepreneurs and self-employed, and whether, in cases where they were employees, they were employed by a fellow Jew. I will operationalize occupational status to analyze changes in the social position of the community. How have Jews been categorized? As Jews, or by the profession they represented? And more so, how have these boundaries been conceptualized and narrated in the literature on local Jews?

The trading diaspora minorities challenge the studies of boundaries and networks because the context is always shifting through time. Each question concerning the social mobility of Helsinki Jews requires a consideration of mobility in comparison to different groups of people: Jews compared to non-Jews in Helsinki; Jews in Finland compared to Jews in other cities and countries; Jews compared to other transnational minorities. This is the underlying theme of my research. My research questions can be summarized as the following:

1) How has the concept of Finnish Jews taken shape?
2) To what extent has this process been connected to the occupational profile and business-orientation of the Helsinki Jews? Do occupational boundaries recreate and strengthen ethnic boundaries?
3) And finally, what, if anything, is actually "ethnic" in the Jewish family business?

[6] Alapuro 2012; Peltonen 2012.

[7] The Pale of Settlement refers to a region in the western provinces of Imperial Russia in which Jews were permitted permanent residence covering parts of what today belong to Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, see Klier 2010.

[8] Sanders 2002, 333.

1.1 Contextualizing the Research Field

The above questions stem from the ethnic boundary literature and discussion concerning ethnic entrepreneurship of immigrant and migrant communities.[9] Yet quite similar questions, although using a different set of vocabulary, have been asked before. Setting them in the context of twentieth-century history of European Jews also shows that they are far from innocent.

Themes related to ethnic studies and ethnic entrepreneurship have been present in the works of many of the classical thinkers of modern sociology. The historical origins of the theoretical bases of the social capital literature stems from the classical questions already stated by Karl Marx, Max Weber, Èmile Durkheim, and Georg Simmel.[10] Scholar of Judaic Studies Jonathan Karp has demonstrated a contradiction in the discussion of the role of economics in Jewish life.[11] Scholars have asked when and on what terms Jews have entered the modern economic age.[12]

On the one hand, some of the basic notions in today's ethnic studies go back to Max Weber's writings on the relationship between minority-position and economic life. As sociologists Ivan Light and Stavros Karagheorgis have noted, tight networks, embedded family relations, and ethnic loyalties were the reasons why Max Weber positioned Jews as part of the pre-modern pariah capitalism in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. According to Weber, Jews could never reach the pure profit maximization that marked off modern capitalism from its pre-modern forms. Jews persisted in a mode of capitalism specific to a pre-modern society because they could not "break out."[13]

On the other hand, although the role of Jews in modern economic life was often strongly exaggerated in the antisemitic literature, it is also an undeniable fact that during the period of high industrialization, the role of Jews has been notable. This prompted early twentieth-century European scholars like Max Weber and Werner Sombart to debate how [it was that] Jews became "capitalists before modern capitalism.

In post-Holocaust Europe, making the link between ethno-religious background and economic performance had completely lost its credibility.[14] For decades the main body of literature on ethnic minorities, ethnic entrepreneurship, and intra-ethnic social relations remained mainly an Anglo-American domain. Not discussing ethnic minorities does not mean, however, that there were none.[15] The case of European Jews, 1933–1945 forms an epistemological break. It is a challenging task to make a long-term study that bridges this break and ties two distinct worlds of 'before' and 'after' into one, coherent analysis.

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[9] Barth 1969; Verdery 1996. A review of the literature on ethnic boundaries in Anglo-American sociological literature, Sanders 2002; Wimmer 2008.

[10] Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, 1323–1325.

[11] Karp 2011, 23.

[12] For instance, Joel Mokyr has recently argued that, especially considering the central role in which education is perceived in Jewish religion and culture, for most of history the performance of Jews was modest and their role in technological innovations and in the development of modern capitalism marginal, Mokyr 2011, 201–204.

[13] Light & Karagheorgis 1994, 647; Light 2007.

[14] Penslar 2011, vii.

[15] Lucassen, Feldman & Oltmer, 2006.

In pursuing theoretical and methodological approaches to history as an academic discipline, the Holocaust has challenged the stress on all history as narratives and contesting memories. One cannot tell any story as a historical truth. Not *any* story makes a historical narrative, simply because there are events that happened to take place. What is clear, however, is that history is not just something that took place in the past. The present day contexts affect what is considered as appropriate and relevant to our knowledge and understanding of the past.

Finland and Finnish Jews serve as a textbook example of the interplay between the presence of time and historical contexts. In the Finnish-Jewish narrative, the war forms a shared event that gave legitimacy to their Finnish citizenship and a basis for a non-problematic Finnish-Jewish identity.[16]

Finland was involved in the Second World War in three different phases: in 1939 (the "Winter War"), in 1941–1944 ("the Continuation War") against the Soviet Union and in 1944 against Germany ("The Lapland War"). The Finnish Jews were involved in all three phases as a part of the Finnish armed forces. This is a fact that has been given a strong significance in the dominant narrative.

The situation of the Jewish soldiers, however, did become problematic in the second phase of engagement with the Soviet Union, when Finland became allied with Nazi-Germany (June 1941 – September 1944). In the light of the Jewish experience, the basis for "Finnishness" is a source of contradictions and contested identities. Finland was no neutral bystander to the Holocaust; in the war of 1941–1944 she was a German ally.[17]

Choosing the terms to describe Finland's war-time involvement and intentions has been a constant *historikerstreit* ever since the war ended. A recent volume by a number of scholars has analyzed how The Holocaust has been discussed and treated in Finland as a subject.[18]

In my study, the focus is on the limits set on how the history of the Jewish community in Finland has been traced out during the Cold War period. Since all published works on the history of Jews in Finland, by Jewish authors, as well as non-Jewish scholars, are from the period after the Second World War, understanding the context is all the more important.[19]

A pioneering work by Santeri Jacobsson *Taistelu ihmisoikeuksista* [A Fight for Human Rights, in Finnish] was published in 1951. For more than thirty years, this was the only published historical account of the Finnish Jews and, it is safe to say, it has proven foundational for all other scholarly works on the subject.

Santeri Jacobsson (1883–1955) was a member of the Viipuri Jewish community and was a well-known civil rights activist. His book documents the Jewish civil rights debates from 1870 until the law on Jewish civil rights was passed in 1917. It is also rich in details on the different regulations imposed on Jews as well as anecdotes on Jewish life in nineteenth-century Finland, most of them from his hometown of Viipuri. The book is frequently used as source material. Jacobsson's remarks on the economic character of the Jewish community in Helsinki have become standard citations found in practically every work on Jews in Finland.

[16] Harviainen 2000, 161–162.
[17] Silvennoinen 2009, Silvennoinen 2013, 195.
[18] Muir & Worthen 2013; Tilli 2013.
[19] An exception to this rule is a pamphlet written by Santeri Jacobsson printed in 1907. There were also short overviews on the origins of Jewish communities in Finland and the legal restrictions imposed on them in Finnish encyclopedias, for example in Otava's Tietosanakirja 1906, part three [Haggard–Kaiverrus] p. 1551, or Iso Tietossanakirja 1933, part 5 [Ihminen–Kansallisfilosofia] pp. 850–851.

In the 1980s, the interest in the history of the Jews in Finland arose both among active members of the local Jewish congregations and non-Jewish scholars. A number of other works came out. The first studies by professors Tapani Harviainen and Karl-Johan Illman's paved the way for a general knowledge of the community and its historical background.[20] Taimi Torvinen's *Kadimah: Suomen juutalaisten historia* [Kadimah: The History of Finnish Jews, in Finnish] from 1989 tells the history of the Jews in Finland from the early nineteenth century until the 1980s.[21] Torvinen was a historian who had written about refugee politics in Finland in the 1940s.[22] Finnish Jewish congregations commissioned the study in the mid-1980s.[23]

In the studies of the 1980s, the framework was a cross-disciplinary Nordic scholarly community. In Sweden, economic historian Rita Bredefeldt has continued in this tradition and brought the Jewish studies under the discipline of economic history. Compared to Scandinavian Jewish communities, the historical framework of Finland under the Russian Empire made the story different. Until recently, the prevalent narrative represented Finnish Jewish history as totally unique, with no counterpart in Scandinavia, the Baltic, or Eastern Europe.[24]

Since the 1990s the amount of literature on Jews in Finland and other Nordic countries has increased manifold. Simo Muir's study on Yiddish in Helsinki has been a pioneering work in Finland, a first study setting the local Jewish community into the linguistic and cultural frame of the largely bygone Yiddish-language Europe.[25]

The research questions posed above arise from the minority position of the Jewish community, not from Judaism as a religion, nor from Jewishness as a cultural heritage and shared customs. I analyze the Helsinki Jewish community as an urban transnational minority. From a purely theoretical perspective, I do not think any explanations can be drawn from Judaism or the Jewish culture as such.[26] The minority status of the Helsinki Jews has ultimately to do with the Jewish Diaspora – a strong ethnic (or "national," to use the term of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) group-consciousness, sense of distinctiveness, and a common faith extending to the co-ethnics over the national borders.[27] Theoretically, looking at the structural elements of social position, such culturally and historically different transnational minorities as the Armenians, Southeast Asian Chinese, Indian minorities in Sub-Saharan Africa, or the Russian Tatars could be a part of this study.

All continents and all times seem to have their own counterparts for what Jewish business history represents in Europe. Such historically and culturally different groups as Armenians in France, Old Believers in nineteenth-century Russia, the Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Indians in Sub-Saharan Africa are historically known as mercantile minorities. They all have

[20] Harviainen 1988; Illman & Harviainen 1986; Illman & Harviainen 1989; Illman & Harviainen 1998.
[21] For an English review of the book by by Tapani Harviainen, see Nordisk judaistik, Vol.11, No. 1–2, 1990 pp. 102–105.
[22] Torvinen 1984.
[23] Torvinen 1989.
[24] See, for example, how Tapani Harviainen and Hannu Rautkallio have each framed the history of Finnish Jews: Harviainen 2000, 161–162; Rautkallio 1994; in Finnish, Harviainen 1998, 299–302.
[25] Muir 2004.
[26] Marina Botticini and Zwi Eckstein use another approach. They argue that the way investments in religious education interact with occupational choice and earnings, in their view, is explained by the Jewish religion and the social position of Jews as a business-oriented minority (Botticini & Eckstein 2005, 922–948).
[27] Robin Cohen (1997) has summarized the common features of a diaspora, 23–26.

a recognizable group-cohesion which has been turned into an economic resource.[28] Because their ethno-religious backgrounds and historical contexts are so different, culture as such cannot constitute a sufficient explanation. More general, structural explanations have been given for the success of urban business-oriented diaspora communities.[29] All of these diaspora communities have multiple transnational links but are simultaneously characterized as having closed local social structures. They often have strong ethno-religious social institutions serving as a hub for their social activities.[30]

At the same time, it is equally important to stress that Judaism as a religion and, thus, Jews as a people, have an exceptional position in the mentalities of Christian societies. The idea of "Jewishness" was present in a predominantly Christian society, even if there were no Jews.[31] Unlike other religious minorities of late nineteenth-century Helsinki – the Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and the Moslem Tatars – the idea of Jewish people was constantly reflected in the Christian calendar, teachings, and proverbs in Finland prior to any actual Jewish settlement, regardless of and unrelated to the Jews of Europe. Similarly, the ethnic aspect is, of course, inherently present in the Jewish religion and folk culture.[32] Conversely most Jews at most times undoubtedly considered themselves as different from the gentiles.

Nevertheless, the significance of the difference between Jews and non-Jews has not been unalterable. Basically for pre-modern Christian society, the problem was the Jewish religion and the cure was conversion and acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. It was only after the rise of modern antisemitism that the idea of Jewish ethnicity took the forms of race theory that it did, where questions of Jewish background were considered as something one cannot choose or change.

It is very important to understand the context and basis of modern antisemitism. It occurred at a time when the Jews of Europe were more integrated and less segregated than ever before.[33] The ethnic difference became significant and problematic precisely when it became increasingly difficult – even impossible – to define the boundaries between Jews and gentiles on many levels of European society. Modern economic antisemitism accelerated simultaneously with Jewish emancipation and assimilation. The problem of the National Socialists and other antisemitic parties was not the difference, the strangeness of Jews, but exactly the opposite: the problem was that Jews were so assimilated that one could no longer identify and separate them.[34]

"The Jewish Question" arose not from an inability or refusal of Jews to integrate or adapt, but from quite the opposite: they were too good at it. As Yuri Slezkine has so convincingly demonstrated, Jews tended to excel in the very things that came to symbolize the accomplishments of the twentieth century.[35] In most parts of Central and Eastern Europe, Jews were more urban, more educated, and more advanced than the majority population.[36]

[28] Cohen 1997.
[29] Bonacich 1973; Cohen 1997.
[30] Sanders 2002, 344.
[31] Penslar 2001, 13–22.
[32] Following Yury Slezkine's ideas, one can state that the era of modern nation-states has borrowed the idea of being "God's chosen people" from Judaism, Slezkine 2004, 44.
[33] Blok 2001, 115–135, especially 131–132; Stanislawski 2001.
[34] Bauman 2000, 215.
[35] Slezkine 2004.
[36] Slezkine 2004; Kaplan 1991; Wasserstein 2012.

It is no wonder then that the Jews of Europe constitute a classic example in the literature on social capital, networks, and the significance of trust and embeddedness. Nearly all studies have a historical reference to Jews in Europe as the classic middleman minority, often with some general references to the medieval Catholic ban on Catholics making loans and paying interest and the resulting special economic sphere in which the Jews served as moneylenders.

Most Jewish social history has been a reaction to antisemitism.[37] No author writing about the history of Jews can completely ignore it. One would then expect that consequently no author writing about antisemitism could ignore "the Jews." Yet, due to the constantly shifting boundaries between national histories and that of experiences of a transnational minority, scholars have written about Jews, Jewish refugees seeking asyl in Finland, and antisemitism in Finland, as if these subjects had only loose and fragmentary theoretical connections.

The few Finnish studies on antisemitism in Finland have generally taken an ambivalent approach towards the subject. Others have downright denied the possibility of antisemitism in Finland.[38] A general conclusion by many Finnish scholars has been, until recently, that political antisemitism existed in Finland, but that the political influence of the openly antisemitic groupings were trivial, and the contents were based on imported material rather than home-grown antipathies towards Jews.[39] The campaigns for dispelling Jews from Finland, limiting their rights to act in Finnish society, and attitudes that regard Jews as foreign elements have been bypassed as singular events, without any connection to wider political forces or social life.

Historian Jari Hanski has made an extensive study on antisemitism in Finnish print media in the interwar period. In the English summary of the work, Hanski concludes: "The experience of the Jews as outsiders and foreigners could be seen in some writings. The few Jews who lived in Finland were not a threat to the country, but international Jewry and Jewishness was claimed to be seeking world domination. The Finnish Jews had no need to isolate themselves from other Finns during this period, since they could live among other people openly and freely. Most Finns met Jews only when they visited the open air markets (narinkka) or shops. There were no rich Jews in Finland, which also diminished the possibility of antisemitism."[40]

This analysis is of course highly problematic because it blurs the fundamental characteristics of modern political antisemitism. Its rise was by no means a consequence of Jews separating themselves. To the contrary, the ultimate problem for antisemitic political movement was the fact that it had become impossible to draw the boundary between Jews and non-Jews. This is the situation where the political programs to isolate and exclude Jews from European societies gained support.[41]

Similarly, historian Eero Kuparinen has given two reasons for the low attraction of antisemitism in Finland. The Jews did not suit the role of a scapegoat for the social problems to the same extent as in other newly independent Eastern European nation-states. This is because there were not enough Jews to raise wide attention in Finland. In addition, argues Kuparinen, the social situation of the few Jewish petty-traders gave little reason for envy.[42]

[37] Green 1998, 3.
[38] Muir 2013, 54–61.
[39] Forsgård 2002; Hanski 2006, 293; Kuparinen 2008, 277.
[40] Hanski 2006, 321–322.
[41] Bauman 2000; Blok 2001.
[42] Kuparinen 2008, 277.

For this reason, my approach via the occupations and trades of the local Jews is all the more important. From an economic perspective, the competition for scarce resources has always been a central feature of antisemitic discourse. Indeed, it is one of the themes the age-old religious anti-Judaism has in common with the modern quasi-scientific antisemitism. Because the economic elements are so intertwined with antisemitism, it is relevant to analyze the Jewish economic profile, how it has changed, including the matter of how it has been described, explained, and discussed.

The narratives of a transnational minority community present a special example of the interplay between memory and narrative, because there are always multiple contexts to choose from at the same time. To say that a community has broad, transnational, family networks implies that the community's history is entwined with the various, multi-layered, historical processes of a larger diaspora.

According to historian Lynn Abrams, "*narrative is not merely the content of the story but the telling of it.*"[43] History and history-related subjects are sometimes referred to as memory studies, but writing a history is not about remembering, it is about selecting what to remember and thus also as a way to elide and to forget.[44]

1.2 From Fixed to Fluid Ethnic Boundaries

Retaining collective memory, ethno-communal consciousness, and solidarity are the basic conditions for a diaspora minority to survive. Remembering and treasuring the traditions are focal points of Jewish self-identification. Consequently, from the perspective of the dominant majority, ethnic minorities tend to appear as less inclined to social and cultural changes than the wider society. There is a tendency to overemphasize, even to romanticize, small minority communities as cohesive groups clinging to their special traditions and values.

In reality, the experience of minorities living in diaspora has been shaped at least as much by profound social changes – forced and volunteer migration and social mobility – than of cultural continuity. Among the Finnish Jewish families this has meant, for example, shifts away from their native Yiddish sometimes via Russian and German into the local languages of Swedish and Finnish. Culture matters, but as such it is too fluid a concept to be used as an explanation. Even in the smallest of Jewish communities, like the one in Helsinki, it is complicated to find such specific Jewish patterns or traits that distinguish the community from other social groups in the city.

Although today it is generally accepted that ethnicity is about forms of social organization, the ethnic economy studies seldom pay attention to the conceptualization process itself. A historian cannot ignore it because it is the categorization process that directly affects the research methods: finding data on the Jews of Helsinki in the 1910s requires different methods from finding a similar, comprehensive set of data on the Helsinki Jews in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

[43] Abrams 2010, 106.
[44] Ricour 2004; Mordhorst 2008, 10.

The starting point of an ethnic boundary paradigm is very simple. Ethnic groups cannot be defined without investigating the boundaries separating them.[45] Cultural traits and patterns alone are too fluid to define what is actually "ethnic" about ethnic minority communities.

Sociologist Jimy M. Sanders has defined ethnic boundaries as "patterns of social interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, in-group members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions."[46] A standard criterion given for ethnic boundaries therefore includes three parts: i) boundary-drawing is a form of social organization, a pattern of interaction linking various groups together; ii) all that is required for this process is some sort of a division between "us" and "them"; iii) and this division includes two overlapping, but different social processes – self-identification and categorization of others.[47]

To start with, the basis of ethnic boundary-drawing can be subjective and requires nothing more than a *belief in* a shared past among co-ethnics and recognition of group distinctions. The focus, however, must be on the boundary-drawing process, not on cultural distinction, traits, and beliefs. Not just any boundary constitutes an *ethnic* boundary. In fact, most social distinctions do *not* demarcate an ethnic boundary. Finland, with its two national languages, and Helsinki with its bilingual character serves as a good example of this.

Until the late nineteenth century, the high language in Finland was Swedish. The language barrier between the two languages sometimes took the forms of a class barrier. Anyone with a higher education or political position in Finnish society was predominantly Swedish-speaking. The majority of the Finnish peasant population, the working class, and the crofters were those who spoke Finnish. However, there was also a Swedish-speaking peasant population, working class, and under class.

With the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, a Finnish-language *Fennoman* movement was born. Highly inspired by German ideas of *Volksgeist,* the aim of the *Fennomans* was to make Finnish the dominant language.[48] This cultural program received notable support from the Russian governor general who regarded it as a means to separate the local elite from Sweden.[49] Thus, early twentieth-century Finland was, to quote social historian Pertti Haapala, "*a country with one people but two elites*."[50] There was a Swedish-speaking upper class and the corresponding rising Finnish-language elite. The cleft between these two rival elite groups in Helsinki was intense, whereas the working class of the city communicated in old Helsinki slang, a mixed code composed of Swedish and Finnish with a strong dose of Russian vocabulary.

Many of the core symbols of the Finnish nationalist ethos – including the national anthem, were originally written in Swedish. The boundary between languages did not take ethnic forms because both sides, excluding some individual radicals, took it for granted that one can shift into another language. In fact, the early *Fennoman* activists were Swedish-speaking who had to learn the language of the people in pursuit of their nationalist goals. Swedish-speaking opponents were called *Svekomans.* Even if some of the radical *Fennomans* and *Svekomans* during the interwar period used rhetoric that attempted to cast the linguistic boundary as a

[45] Barth 1969, 9; Covers 1996.
[46] Sanders 2002, 327.
[47] Wimmer 2008, 975.
[48] Fewster 2006, 41–46; also Kirby 2006, 96, 100; Salomaa 2013, 73.
[49] Kissane 2000, 30–31.
[50] Haapala 1995, 122–124.

kinship issue, the division between the two languages remained a linguistic one and did not and still does not, in itself, constitute an ethnic boundary.

As another example of the difference between ethnic and linguistic boundaries, adapting the high language of the host societies did not make Jews less "Jewish" in Europe. In Helsinki and Turku, Jewish families mostly adopted the Swedish language.[51] This means they were not only an ethno-religious but also a linguistic minority. In Viipuri, the Jews are said to have mostly adopted the Finnish language.[52]

A closer look at the Jewish community further clarifies the difference between ethnicity and other social boundaries. Many of the social and economic differences which were present in the wider society, such as social classes, gender, and age, were also present in the Jewish community, albeit on a miniature scale. There was a gap between the affluent upper class of the Jewish congregation and the poor working-class families. There were also constant contradictions. Many of the political disputes, gender differences, and social differences that characterized the contemporary Finnish urban setting were also present within the small Jewish community. This is why I talk precisely about ethnic boundaries between the Jewish community and the rest of the town milieu in which the Jewish families lived, and not just about social distinctions.

Ethnicity is a subjective sense of belonging, based primarily on the belief in a shared culture. The boundaries between ethnic groups can therefore be anything from totally constructed and situational to very strong attachments with intense consequences for everyday life, political organization and social status. The emphasis a researcher places on the situational nature of ethnic boundaries often conflicts with the everyday experience of those boundaries. An understanding of ethnic boundaries as situational does not mean, however, that these boundaries are changing all the time. On the contrary, as anthropologists Katherine Verdery has noted, in twentieth-century Europe ethnic identities have been notably fixed self-conceptions.[53]

Within the research period, the ethnic boundaries of the Helsinki Jewish community have moved from one end of the spectrum, where they were fixed and categorical, to the other where these same boundaries are blurred. How did this happen? Questions arise which are related to the basic elements of comparative studies: What are the actual ethnic boundaries we are discussing? How, when, and in what forms do the configurations between "us" and "them" change during this process? And how do we examine such processes in times long past?

It is quite natural that some kind of an ethnic boundary exists between an immigrant group and the dominant society. The different languages, backgrounds, values, and practices are not merely cultural constructions. It is clear that the idea of kinship and home among the immigrants is not an idea that emerges at the moment of cultural encounter with the new host society, but predates the encounter, originating from the immigrants' home region.[54] What is situational however is the process of boundary-drawing and how persistent these boundaries will be. All societies in all times had ethnic minorities. Often diverse immigrants from one region are categorized as one group by the host society. This is often the case with

[51] Muir 2009d.

[52] Hartikainen 1998. However, according to my investigation on the educational level of the Helsinki Jews, many with a Viipuri background had chosen a Swedish language curriculum in Viipuri.

[53] Verdery 1996, 36–37; Wimmer 2008, 976.

[54] Roosens 1996, 83.

immigrants from African countries who, in actuality, may represent very different ethnic groups, languages, and religions but are categorized simply as "blacks" or "Africans" by the European societies. Other times immigrants from the same region are categorized by the receiving society according to different ethnic backgrounds. This has often been the case with the Jews. In Sweden Carl-Erik Carlsson has shown how the Swedish authorities treated the Jews differently from the other immigrants from Imperial Russia.[55]

As stated above, during my research period many Jewish families in Helsinki were not recent immigrants at all. What follows is an important notion concerning the terminology. The majority of the Jews in Helsinki were not immigrants. In fact, in a rapidly growing city, where only a few families had been living in the town since the 1860s, Jewish families were among the original inhabitants who had been living in Helsinki since the 1860s, in some cases since the 1830s.[56] Together with the old bourgeois families, the Baltic Germans, and the assimilated Russian families, these families constituted the original Helsinki inhabitants. Similar to the Tatar community and the Baltic Germans in Helsinki, the minority position of the Jews was not specific to Finland. Both Jews and, at least to some extent, Tatars and Baltic Germans had a minority experience already in their previous host-societies prior their moving to Finland.

Scholars emphasize the ethnic boundary-drawing as a process, not as the cultural contents of different social groups.[57] This is not to say that there were no conventions that were considered as specifically "Jewish" by Jews and non-Jews alike. The congregation was a hub of Jewish life surrounded by many active associations and clubs. However, in practice, these different Jewish clubs, societies, and organizations shared aims and working methods with corresponding non-Jewish associations of Helsinki. On a practical level it is difficult to find such specific Jewish distinctions that could not be found among other urban groups with the same social background. For example, the Women's International Zionist Organizations WIZO had a broad international Jewish network and Zionist aims. At the same time its activities, bazaars and charity work, were quite typical of middle-class urban women of the era. Much of what Jews considered as being "Jewish" could just as well be considered "middle class," or "transnational diaspora-minority."

Social psychologist Nimmi Hutnik has made a useful distinction between ethnic identities and racial categorization. "Ethnic minority" is self-identified, whereas "racial categorization" is imposed on the object from outside.[58] When all people with darker skin color are grouped together as "Africans," this is not an ethnic boundary but a racial category. Ethnic identity, in contrast, can be a personal ethno-religious and cultural identity without any recognizable distinction by the larger society. Thus, it is possible to have a stable ethnic identity without outsiders even being aware of it. Ethnic identities, like all identities, are overlapping and changing over time. It is possible to have a Jewish and a Finnish identity. According to a survey conducted among the Helsinki and Turku Jewish congregation members in the early 2000s, the majority of the respondents seemed have a harmonious Finnish-Jewish double-identity.[59]

[55] Carlsson 2004.
[56] Jacobsson 1951; Harviainen 1988.
[57] Barth 1969; Verdery 1996.
[58] Hutnik 1991, 22–24.
[59] Lundgren 2002, 96.

It is worth noting that, defined in this way, ethnicity is not necessarily connected to a minority position. Indeed, most European national loyalties are based on ethnic identities. Similarly, the concept of Finnish identity relies on the idea of a shared past and common origins manifested in the (imagined) "Finnish culture."

Jewish and Finnish identities are both ethnic but only the former is an ethnic minority identity. It is safe to say that the Helsinki Jewish community is an ethnic minority group in the sense Hutnik uses the term. It is an Orthodox Jewish congregation. On the other hand, the community has never been characteristically religious, but rather was remarkably Zionist. This has contributed to interesting contradictions between religious and secular Jewish aspirations. It also means that Jews by and large identified themselves as part of a "Jewish nation" which was the term used by the contemporaries. For the Jews of Finland, this in no way precluded them from identifying themselves as Finns.[60]

Ethnic identity is a personal description, constantly shaping and taking new forms throughout the lifetime.[61] Racial categorization, on the other hand, is imposed by outsiders. As entrepreneurs Jews had to be in constant contact with their customers, workers, and possible business partners. Since this was the social setting, contact theories drawing from the ideas of separated and segregated ethnic communities with limited contacts to "natives" and "foreign" habits are not applicable here. For ethnic entrepreneurs serving the general society – there was no lack of native contacts, yet these contacts were rather limited to certain roles.

Some scholars have emphasized that ethnic identity is not just any identity. What makes it "ethnic" is the presence of the "kinship" metaphor, the belief in common roots.[62] Ethnic ideas are linked to the question of where "we" came from, but it also includes the idea of where "we" are proceeding.

Ethnic identities and racial categories are not the only forms of boundary-drawing. Institutions create and strengthen ethnic boundaries as well. The Helsinki Jewish community is not a random group of people. It is an ethno-religious congregation with certain religious but also administrative duties relating to marriage, inheritance, property rights and taxation. Institutions reinforce the ethnic boundaries. This is why Anders Wimmer has given two dimensions to ethnic boundaries: they are both categorical and social at the same time. In Wimmer's words, "boundaries shape our "ways of seeing the world," as well as our "ways of acting in the world."[63] A mainstream Helsinki dweller might use certain antisemitic stereotypical expressions about Jews, and possibly even foster anti-Jewish ideas; yet in practice, when s/he needed a new coat, s/he might have preferred to buy it from a local Jewish merchant. This local Jewish merchant may have identified himself much more with his all-Helsinki sports club and the circles acquired through his former non-Jewish high school mates than with his Jewish religion, yet preferred to close the store for the Sabbath because it was a custom required by the community.

This leads to two methodological questions: 1) how does one define who are counted as Helsinki Jews? 2) with whom should the local Jewish history be compared and contrasted?

I will now turn to these questions. After an introduction of the research material and the methodological choices driven by them (chapter two), the study goes as follows: chapter three introduces the historical background of the city of Helsinki and its Jewish community

[60] Ekholm & Muir 2011, 29–59.
[61] Bredefeldt 2008.
[62] Roosens 1996, 85–87.
[63] Wimmer 2008, 975, 990.

and the local Jewish marketplace named Narinkka. It also concerns how this history has been framed and narrated, and by the same token, what has not been said and included in this history. Chapters four and five are devoted to the empirical material. Chapter four will utilize the occupational data. Chapter five continues the theme, by anticipating the level of entrepreneurial activity in the Helsinki Jewish Community over time. With this nuanced information on occupational profiles and the role of entrepreneurship in the community as a background the following three chapters contextualize and reflect the boundary-drawing process in three different stages. Chapter six focuses on the Imperial period and occupations available for Jews, while chapter seven tells about the interwar period, and chapter eight focuses on the post-Second World War era. The conclusion (chapter nine) will highlight the outcomes of this research.

2. Research Methods and Source Material

Questions concerning definitions and categorizations are present in all human studies. In ethnic studies they are particularly challenging, because the very act of defining the ethnic boundaries automatically reinforces them.

This is not a problem with clear-cut, perhaps even institutionalized ethnic categories. For instance, in Imperial Finland citizenship was institutionally bound to Christianity. As there was no civil register, all non-Christians were categorized by their ethno-religious status. As long as the ethnic categories are fixed by legislation, defining ethnic boundaries poses no problem for a historian.

Yet, what about the situation when the society no longer generally makes a distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens? In situations where inter-ethnic boundaries are unclear, invisible and mostly irrelevant, the line between studying and drawing ethnic boundaries becomes obscure. When records no longer categorize ethnicity, the responsibility of making an ethnic categorization then shifts from the historical sources to the researcher. How does one define Helsinki Jews in a post-World War II period, when the public archival sources no longer reveal the ethnic background?

Sociological ethnic studies are not always aware of this problem, but historians cannot avoid it. Whether we talk about integration, assimilation, or acculturation the process means that sources become "mute" about ethnic identities. However, this can be turned into a research strategy. For what historians use as their data reflects the bygone boundary-drawing process. Collecting and organizing all the information that eventually ends up in archives, statistical year books, and other collections is guided by decisions that reflect the contemporary criteria.[64] Authorities only collect information that has been considered relevant. Therefore studying how the status of a group of people changes in the archival material reveals the social standing in a given time. For example, from 1901 until 1920 the City of Helsinki statistics had a special table on Jews in Helsinki. Since 1921 the statistics included a table on different religious congregations in Helsinki without any specific attention paid to Helsinki Jews. Since 1963 information on religious status has no longer been considered relevant. The non-Lutheran congregations have been merged with the magistrate information of the increasing number of non-confessional people.[65]

I have solved the problem of 'mute' sources by relying on institutional definitions. The Finnish state system is one in which the church is a public authority with a responsibility to collect taxes. Since 1918 the Jewish congregations of Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri had a formal right to collect taxes on their members just as the Lutheran Church collects taxes as a part of its status as a State church.[66] Therefore all formal religious congregations have an institutional responsibility to keep records of the members.

The Helsinki Jewish congregation is a religious institution that draws clear institutional boundaries on its local Jewish community. I basically focus on the members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation without paying particular attention to the fact that this definition might leave out individuals, who strongly identified themselves with the local Jewish community,

[64] Cook 2009, 511.
[65] City of Helsinki Statistical Year Books, 1901–1967.
[66] Martikainen 2004.

as well as including individuals who might have been formally members of the congregation – without any actual commitment to anything related to local Jewish life.

My research strategy is to reconstruct the community by utilizing the publicly available sources as long as possible. When these sources become silent about the Jewish background, I will rely on the congregation records.

2.1 Focus on the Community Level

According to the statistics made by the community in 1930 there were 1132 individuals and 219 families in the Helsinki Jewish congregation.[67] Since the community is so small, it is possible for this research to encompass the entire community and over a long period of time. I will elaborate upon the material from different perspectives including changes taking place over time.

I have employed public archives by local administration. These include the City of Helsinki register books and Helsinki police department archives and the Public Trade Register by the National board of patents and registration of Finland. In addition to these, the Jewish congregation of Helsinki has a private archive collection in the National Archives of Finland. The Finnish Jewish Archives (Suomen juutalaisten arkisto), was opened in 1998. The archives consist of material on the Helsinki Jewish community as well as the the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Finland. There are also private archive collections and a photo collection. In 2009 the Helsinki Jewish community and the National Archives of Finland published a virtual exhibition *Fenno-Judaica* based on the collections.[68]

Supporting the archival material, there is a comprehensive Meliza Amity's Israeli-based digital genealogical study which makes it possible to track the family members living outside Finland.[69]

The community is so small that none of the explanations can be "endogenous." The community was not big enough to even theoretically remain a closed, cohesive Jewish parallel society without any contact and influence from the host society.

This is why I will, as much as possible, try to remain on the community level with regard to my research material. This is important for two reasons: the community is very small and therefore its members are easily recognizable. This applies especially to the post-Second World War period. People entering working life in the mid-1960s are still an active part of the society today. I therefore use general aggregates, such as occupational titles, degrees, and social standing, with respect to individual privacy.

There is more to this than just the ethical aspects of respecting the privacy of individual families in Helsinki. A sharper focus on a few families with a deeper look at the strategies and decisions made from one generation to another would provide a richer view on many interesting things. It would, however, be difficult to argue, what, if anything is actually

[67] Judisk Årsbok för Finland 1930 ("A Jewish Year Book"), 9, file 138, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

[68] Fenno-Judaica, a virtual exhibition based on the collections Fenno-Judaica, Suomen juutalaisen historian ja kulttuurin lähteillä, <http://fennojudaica.jchelsinki.fi/index.html> (accessed 23 November 2012).

[69] Meliza's genealogy, www.amitys.com. Over time the project has grown into a collection of over 21,000 individuals with Finnish and Polish roots as well as their spouses. E-mail from Meliza Amity, 25 November 2011.

"ethnic" or "Jewish" in these given cases. Despite its small size and perhaps contrary to popular ideas of the characteristics of a small Jewish community, the community has always been heterogeneous with a wide range of people both rich and poor, radical and traditional, leftist and conservative, young and old. Putting one or two Helsinki Jewish families in the spotlight would give a lot of interesting information but leave open the question of just how representative these select families would be of their community.

My method is to focus on three selected cross-section years. The idea is to reconstruct comparable occupational profiles for different periods defined in the literature on the Jews of Finland. I will juxtapose the business profile of the three different periods and to see to what extent the occupational profiles change and whether their changes follow the historical periodization. I will analyze how the Jewish occupational structure has been represented in the literature and how it has been explained and motivated in other sources used in this study, and then compare these explanations to my reconstructed occupational profiles. Did the Jews of Helsinki occupy different jobs after the civil rights as expected in the literature, for instance?

2.2 Determining the Cross-Section Years

As stated above, in the literature on the Jews of Finland, the history has been generally divided into three periods divided by the two World Wars: the Imperial era lasting from the formation of the community in the mid-nineteenth century until the Russian revolution and Finland's independence 1917–1918; the interwar period when Finland was struggling with its independence and traumas from its own civil war of 1918; and finally the post-Second World War period. I have followed this periodization when selecting the cross-section years.

The literature has emphasized the Jewish civil rights and the naturalization process of the Jewish families since 1918.[70] The change was fundamental for the Jews living in Finland in terms of juridical status, property rights, and political rights instead of arbitrary and temporary bills of residence. The law on civil rights for the "believers of Moses" ensured the legal right to act in Finnish society as a Jew.

However, from the perspective of a historian interested in social and ethnic boundaries, another crucial law was the Religious Liberty Act of 1922.[71] It was no longer obligatory to belong to a religious organization. Thus it became possible to resign from the Helsinki Jewish congregation without converting to another religion.

The available archival material on these three different periods reflects the institutional changes that were taking place in Finland over time. The chosen cross-section years follow these changes in the institutional setting described above. The first cross-section year selected dates to the early stage of the First World War and thus the last years of Imperial Russia (1915). The second cross-section year studied is from the interwar period (1930), and the last one is chosen four decades forward in time, to the Cold War period (1972).

2.2.1 The Imperial Period

The formal institutional setting of the local Jewish community was set by the Imperial Russian military. The Jewish population living in Finland was mostly controlled separately from other Russian subjects and foreigners. As Jews could not be Finnish citizens prior to 1918, and as they stayed in the country as Russian subjects with special residential permits, there are complete lists of each and every Jew who lived in the country in the nineteenth century. The police in Helsinki,[72] the County Administrative Board,[73] and the Finnish Senate all collected information on Jews living in Finland.[74]

The first cross-section year dates to the early stage of the First World War and is based on the list of Jews living in Finland in summer 1915. After the outbreak of the First World War the Russian army had a special interest in Jewish men in the reserve. In the war-time

[70] Lag om mosaiska trorsbekännare, § 7, 1918 Mooseksenuskoisista 12.1.1918 (The Act on the believers of Moses 12 January 1918).
[71] Martikainen 2004, 108.
[72] Passitoimisto, II piirin Mooseksenuskolaisten kirjat 1890–1893, 1903, 1904, 1905, HPL-Bk1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Helsinki Police Archives, NA.
[73] Karkotukset 1909, I. Jääskeläinen II/4, He1, Senaatin siviilitoimituskunta, Juutalaisten maassa koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1, in Finnish, The Civil Department of the Senate, NA.
[74] Uudenmaan läänin kuvernöörin, Turun kaupungin ja Maarian pitäjän luettelo Hämeen läänissä asuvista juutalaisista, luettelo Viipurin läänissä asuvista juutalaisista, Senaatin siviilitoimituskunta, juutalaisten maassa oleskelua koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1, The Civil Department of the Senate, NA.

conditions, it was also a special interest of the Finnish authorities to know about "foreigners" living in the country. There are therefore detailed data on Jewish families living in Helsinki, the occupational description of the head of the family, the number of children, the date of arrival to Finland, the deportations of those who lacked valid papers, complaints for deportation decrees, and emigration dates.

I use the lists made for the Governors of the Finnish counties from the fall of 1915 as a starting point of my study and as the basis for the first cross-section year.[75] Finland was not directly involved in the First World War. So, their unique situation as Jews without Finnish civil rights exposed Jewish men in Finland to reserve conscript status in the Russian army in the time of war. According to the list, 31 men were at the front. One of them has an accompanying note stating that he had joined up to serve at the front on a voluntary basis. This information can be combined with the police archives, which has lists of families which received reimbursements because the head of the family was serving in the military.[76] However, the governor's list only includes men in the reserves, not those young men who were doing their military service in 1915.

Based on other archival material, a notable number of men, who should have lived in Helsinki around the time, are missing from the list. Fragmentary sources reveal that during the war some families moved to Copenhagen and returned to Helsinki only after the war and Finland's independence.

The list includes remarks on what grounds the person had permission to stay in Finland. Approximately 10 percent of the 894 people on the list in Helsinki were in the country without valid documents. One must, however, be cautious with such statistical information. Providing information for the use of Finnish and Russian authorities was, in most cases, not in the interests of the Jewish families. These families had little reason to trust the local police, and the fear of expulsions made many keep a low profile and avoid getting their names on the list. There are spelling mistakes and missing information. There are also clear mistakes on the list. Place of birth was considered as one criteria to determine the right to stay in Finland. As important as the place of birth was, information concerning it was not always accurate.

The Governor's list in 1915 includes a lot of information concerning each individual Jew and Jewish household including the date of birth, place of birth, occupational title, military status, etc. Collecting the information for the following cross-section years required more effort.

[75] Uudenmaan läänin kuvernöörin, Turun kaupungin ja Maarian pitäjän luettelo Hämeen läänissä asuvista juutalaisista, luettelo Viipurin läänissä asuvista juutalaisista, Senaatin siviilitoimituskunta, juutalaisten maassa oleskelua koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Civil Department of the Senate, NA. Economic historian Rita Bredefeldt has used this material in her study on Jewish occupational structure in Finland, Bredefeldt 2008, 177–180.

[76] Luettelo sotilaiden perheistä ja avustusmaksuista ajalta 1/18/1914-, Ga1, in Finnish, (HPL); Helsinki Police Archives, NA.

2.2.2 The Interwar Period

The second cross-section year is 1930. The difference between the first and the second cross-section years is thus only 15 years. The idea is to analyze the immediate changes following the Jewish civil rights on occupational choices in the community. Of the people above the age of 16 in the 1915 data, 333 (60.8 %) were also involved in the 1930 cross-section data. Most of the people in the 1915 data should still be working in 1930 but now as Finnish citizens. Naturally, there is no single unifying entity that would correlate the Governor's lists from 1915 with the lists of 1930.

The basis of the 1930 data set is a Jewish community directory called *Judisk årsbok för Finland* [A Jewish yearbook for Finland, in Swedish] made by the three Jewish congregations of Finland.[77] The address book included only adult members of the community, and what is more, only the head of the family. Married women and unmarried daughters were not listed, and nor were the children.

I have combined the database with the Helsinki city register books from 1931 reflecting the situation in 1930.[78] Among the 209,378 inhabitants registered in Helsinki for 1931, it has been possible for me to gather the information concerning the Jews because the authorities made note of all non-Lutheran members of the city.[79] This way, I have been able to add the wives and unmarried daughters into the data set. Combined, these sources indicate that this cross-section year includes 688 individuals above the age of 16.

Possibly by this time, however, some former members of the congregation were listed in the civil register (having revoked their religious affiliation, as now allowed by law), and therefore were not taken into this study. A special case concerns a few foreigners who were marked as "Jewish" but not as members of the local community. They are generally not included in this study either.

2.2.3 The Post-war Period

The criteria for choosing the last cross-section year was set to reflect a situation in which the Helsinki Jewish congregation had formally noted that the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews had become so obscure that it was sometimes difficult to differentiate between those who should actually be counted as members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation. For the third, and final, cross-section year, the idea is to focus on the generation that grew up as Finnish citizens. This should be the first generation of Jews that, according to everything written so far, clearly shared a common Finnish identity. Many of them participated in the Second World War. By this time, only the elders of the community remembered the times when they lived in Finland under the auspices of temporary residence permits.

[77] Judisk Årsbok för Finland 1930 ("The Jewish Year Book," in Swedish).
[78] Helsingin kaupungin henkikirjat 1809–1931 (The Helsinki City register books), U599–U617, in Finnish and Swedish. The Population Register of Uusimaa and Häme, NA.
[79] Helsingin kaupungin henkikirjoihin merkityn väestön loppuyhteenveto U618, in Finnish and Swedish. The Population Register of Uusimaa and Häme, NA.

For the post-Second World War period, the membership lists of the Helsinki Jewish congregation forms a core of the cross-section year.[80] The congregation membership lists of 1966 that included the young, who were born after the Second World War, were included in my analysis.[81] The community had 848 members above the age of 15 in 1966 of which 427 were born after 1916, which was the last age cohort taken into account in the cross-section year of 1930. The leaders of the community belonged to the generation of Finns who shared a common consciousness and perspectives of the Second World War. The youth entering working life were part of the Finnish post-war baby boomers.

The following two decades after the war a notable demographic flux took place. The Viipuri Jewish community was evacuated to Tampere after the town of Viipuri was annexed to the Soviet Union; however, many of the families that were taken to Tampere settled in Helsinki instead.[82] There were small groups of Jewish refugees and prisoners of war, who stayed in Finland during the war years.[83] Most of these people moved further to Sweden, the United States, and Israel. These were also the destinations of many Finnish Jews during the post-Second World War years. In terms of emigration, for example, in 1962 almost 20 % of the congregation members lived permanently abroad.[84] In 1963, the former members who no longer held Finnish citizenship were removed from the congregation records.[85]

One consequence of the war-time experience was a transformation of the family structure. The war brought about an increasing number of marriages between Jews and non-Jews. These were not totally uncommon before the war, but generally took place after a thorough consideration whereas the war-time marriages seem to have been made after a relatively short consideration.

For young Jews, finding eligible spouses had never been easy, even from the very beginning of Jewish communal life in Finland; but finding eligible spouses in the post-war era was even more difficult, because all Jewish networks had to be re-established from amidst the ruins of the Holocaust. Together with their generation they grew up in post-war Finland, which was certainly different from the youth of their parents. At the same time, they were the first post-Shoah generation growing up in Europe. By the turn of the 1950s and 1960s the Helsinki Jewish congregation noted that due to the number of inter-faith marriages and high amount of emigration, also among the Finnish Jews, it became impossible to know who should actually be considered a member of the congregation.[86] According to Halacha laws and tradition, a person is a Jew by birth to a Jewish mother. Therefore, discussion whether the

[80] Väestörekisteri-ilmoitukset ennen vuotta 1971, files 14 and 15; Muut annetut ja saadut väestörekisteri-ilmoitukset, file 31; Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[81] Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan väestörekisteriaineisto, 1966, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[82] According to Årsberättelse (the Annual Report) of 1947, a total of 158 members of the former Viipuri congregation had officially become members of the Helsinki congregation, "Viborgs judiska församlings upplösning," 4, Judiska Församlingens i Helsingfors Årsberättelse för år 1947 (in Swedish), file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA. Officially, the Viipuri congregation was evacuated to Tampere, where it functioned until 1981, Hartikainen 1998, 94; "Kaupungit" http://fennojudaica.jchelsinki.fi/fi_com_cities.html.
[83] Torvinen 1984, 144–146; Harviainen 2000, 163; Fenno-Judaica, "Holokausti," http://fennojudaica.jchelsinki.fi/fi_his_holocaust.html; Silvennoinen 2013.
[84] Burstein 1986, 144–145.
[85] Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan vuosikertomukset 1963, file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[86] Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan vuosikertomukset 1950–1988 (Annual Reports of the Helsinki Jewish Congregation), file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

children born to families, in which the mother was not Jewish, was constantly debated between 1946 and 1973.[87]

This must have affected marriages in two ways that are visible in a memo from 1960.[88] According to this memo some 45 % of the 65 marriages contracted during the last five years were marriages in which both were Jews:

During the last 6 years 1955–1960, 65 marriages are listed in the community register. There were 24 Jewish marriages and 5 marriages in which the girl became Jewish through Geirut. The total number of Jewish 29 marriages represents 45 % of all marriages. The remaining 36 marriages are mixed, which represents 55% of all marriages. Of the Jewish married couples, 17 couples remained Jewish families in Helsinki. The other 12 couples are living mostly abroad. From the total number of 36 mixed marriages, 26 of these are such that a Jewish man is involved, and 10 of these cases are such that a Jewish girl married a non-Jew. In only one case has the person in question left the community. In all other cases either the man or the woman remains a member of the community.

In such a small community as this, a truly notable number of young Jewish couples emigrated. Many moved to Israel in the 1960s. This contribution to the Jewish life elsewhere meant, on the local level, that the share of families where one of the parents was not a member of the congregation became even more significant.

The social realm of the Jewish community is of course broader than the institutional definition of the Helsinki Jewish congregation. It is possible that a person identifies herself/himself as a Jew and the outsiders categorize as her/him as one, yet without actual membership in the Helsinki Jewish congregation s/he will not be taken into account in my study. There are people who are, by all conceivable definitions, part of the Helsinki Jewish community; yet these persons have no connection to its everyday life, let alone decision-making. On the other hand, there are outsiders with a significant influence on the local Jewish self-image and decision-making – such as researchers writing about the history of the community.

[87] ”Kiista ei-juutalaisista äideistä syntyneiden lasten merkitsemisestä seurakunnan rekisteriin” [A dispute on the membership of the children born to non-Jewish mothers, in Finnish], file 163, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

[88] Bassin: Statistik i anslutning till blandäktenskapfrågan, Helsinki 13.12.1960/ Statistic concerning the question of mixed marriages, Helsinki the 13th of December 1960, File 67, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

Table 1 *Summary of the data and source of the cross-section years 1915, 1930, and 1966.*

	Imperial era 1915	Interwar period 1930	Post-war period 1966
N=	**894**	**1132**	**1138**
Number of individuals above the age of 16	**546**	**686**	**848**
Criteria for selection to be included in the data	Principally all Jews living in Helsinki region with a civilian status.	Members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation, above the age of 16	Members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation, above the age of 16
Individuals not included in the data	Jews serving in the Russian military garrisons in Helsinki	People with a Jewish background who were not members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation	People with a Jewish background who were not members of the Helsinki Jewish congregation
Main sources	"Governor's list" for 1915	"Jewish yearbook 1930" combined with Helsinki city register books for 1931	Membership lists of the Helsinki Jewish congregation for 1966
Additional source	Meliza's Genealogy	Meliza's Genealogy	Meliza's Genealogy

Sources: *Uudenmaan läänin kuvernöörin luettelo maassa oleskelevista juutalaisista ("Governor's list for 1915"). Juutalaisten maassa koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1; The Civil Department of the Senate, NA. Judisk Årsbok för Finland 1930 ("Jewish yearbook 1930"); file 138, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA. Helsingin kaupungin henkikirjat 1809–1931 (the Population Register of Uusimaa and Häme Helsinki City Register books for 1931); U599–U617, NA. Väestörekisteri-ilmoitukset ennen vuotta 1971 (Membership lists of the Helsinki Jewish congregation for 1966), files 14 and 15. Muut annetut ja saadut väestörekisteri-ilmoitukset, file 31; Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA; Meliza's Family tree: Meliza Amity's Genealogy (www.amitys.com).*

Following the individuals from one representative year to another is sometimes difficult. The original stock of given names in an Orthodox Jewish community was quite restricted to a list of traditional Hebrew and Yiddish names such as Abram or Abraham, Alter, Aron, Ben-Zion, Berko, Boruch, Chaim, David, Daniel, Faivel, Hanoch/Henoch, Hirsch, Itzka, Israel, Jankel, Jakob, Josef or Josel, Leib, Lipman, Mejer, Mendel, Mordchai, Morduch, Moscha or Moses, Nachum, Peisach, Schmuel, Salomon or Schleima, Simon, Wulf. There was even less variation in the names for the women. They were given names such as: Bluma, Chana or Hen(k)a, Debora or Dvera, Ester, Feige, Gittel, Golde, Haja, Hava, Hinde, Ida or Ita, Lea, Lena, Liba, Liebe or Ljuba, Malka, Masha, Mirjam, Rachel or Rochel, Rifka, Rosa or Reise, Sara, Schenja, Zivia.

As a result, in big families there were several Aron, Simon, Moses, Ester and Sara with the same family name. Sometimes different times of birth help to distinguish between individuals but it is not unusual that cousins born close to one another had the same first name. It was also common that soon after a daughter married and took the new family name, a son married a girl with the same given name. In the various lists and registers that I have

used there are sometimes little notes specifying the individual such as Mirjam, "Isaacs's wife" and Mirjam "Jakob's wife" but usually it is difficult to confirm the information.

To make matters more complicated, a modern manner in which to give a child two sets of forenames – one Hebrew name for religious purposes and a secular name to be used in the public sphere – became a common practice.[89] Schmuel could become Salomon or Saul, Baruch was changed to Bernhard, Mordchai to Max, and Chaim to Hjalmar. The women likewise preferred name changes so that Zivia can be Sofia. With popular double names, such as Alter-Isak or Blume-Liebe one could sometimes use the first part, sometimes the second, and sometimes a "translated" form of his/her name. Therefore the same person may appear with several versions of names.

Similar problems occur with family names. A family name might pass through three different alphabets transcribing the Hebrew into Russian Cyrillic and into Finnish and Swedish. Slavic names were especially difficult to write in Swedish and Finnish and the names appear with tens of different versions in the documents. In the 1930s and the 1940s almost one-fifth of the Jewish families in Finland changed their family names. Names that sounded Russian were those most often "finnified," whereas Germanic family names were left unchanged.[90]

Because of the tremendous variation in the use of names, it would have been extremely difficult for me to give more than a rough estimate of who is who in each cross-section year had there not been a well-organized, comprehensive internet database on Jewish families in Finland.[91] Meliza Amity's online genealogy includes dates of birth and death, place of burial, as well as family relations. Cross-referencing this information with the data from other sources to each database provides the basic information of the inflows and outflows within the research period.

The three cross-section years altogether include 1669 individuals. Of these, 155 persons (85 women; 70 men) were present in all three cross-sections years, in 1915 as children or young adults, and finally in 1972 as elderly persons.

[89] Wasserstein 2012, 197.
[90] Ekholm & Muir 2011.
[91] Meliza's family tree, www.amitys.com (visited between October 2006 and February 2013).

2.3 Determining Jewish Occupations and Companies

Once I defined how to select and implement the three cross-section years, I needed to find the occupational titles of the community members. Despite a major change in the legal status of the Helsinki Jews during the fifteen years between 1915 and 1930, reconstructing the occupational profile for the congregation members does not present any methodological problems. As mentioned earlier, the governor's list includes the occupational status of the Jews living in Finland.

After 1918, complete lists of Helsinki Jews were no longer created by the governor or police. It is however relatively easy to reconstruct the occupational profiles for the second cross-section year of 1930 from various sources, because the Jewish background was often written down. For example, the Helsinki city registers include the occupational title for the men, sometimes also for older children and single women. Married women, however, are seldom listed in the registers with an occupation.[92] Since the register books made note of non-Lutheran religious communities, it is possible to combine the names from the Jewish yearbook with the Helsinki city register books for this interwar period.

As mentioned before, one cannot overemphasize the difference, or the methodological challenges this difference created, between the interwar years and the 1950s and 1970s. The available sources no longer categorize Jews as a one group. By the 1960s, the religious status of Jews, Catholics, Moslems, or other "ethnic" minorities living in the city is no longer noted in the register books.[93] The sources are silent in terms of the ethnic or religious background of the city's inhabitants. Interestingly, around the same time the statistical yearbooks published by the City of Helsinki stopped presenting statistics about these ethno-religious communities.[94]

Thus there no longer exists any publicly available archival material of the Helsinki Jews as a collective community. On the other hand, if one is able to recognize the Jewish names – including the new (quasi-)Hebrew-Finnish forms of the local Jewish family names – one can find individuals with a Jewish background among expert positions as, for example, communal doctor, university teacher, member of the police force, school principal, deputy chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Therefore, the occupational titles for the post-war cross-section year are collected using different sources. Instead of relying on information gathered by non-Jewish sources, I have used the Helsinki Jewish archives. Since everyone knew each other in the small congregation, the record keeping was not always very accurate. In his Master's thesis, sociologist Bo Ohlström studied the social status of the Helsinki Jews. He made a survey complete with several interviews at the turn of the decade between the 1950s and 1960s. This study focused specifically on social mobility and status in the community and tested the new methods and trends of the time. The ethnographical part where Ohlström recorded how he collected the

[92] Helsingin kaupungin henkikirjat (The population register books of the City of Helsinki) 1809–1931, U599–U617, I have checked the occupational titles from 1931, reflecting the situation in 1930.

[93] The population register books of the City of Helsinki in 1965 have a category for non-Lutherans, but its contents have not been provided by the authorities.

[94] The statistical yearbooks of Helsinki began to publish statistics on religious groups in Helsinki once again in the early 1990s, Statistical Yearbook of Helsinki 1991.

material is interesting for our purposes. The ombudsman helping him to conduct his survey told him that the occupations in the membership lists were far from complete.[95]

However, for 1972 there is an updated list of the congregation members along with their occupational titles. Thus the occupational titles for the 1966 cohort are taken from the 1972 taxation lists.[96] I wanted to include the generation born after the Second World War in the analyses, and by 1972 even those with a higher education have occupational titles instead of a general notion of *student*.

The way the occupations were reflected in the interwar era would indicate that a clear change would have taken place by the 1960s. The occupations are taken from the Helsinki Jewish congregation taxation books from 1972. The information on people's occupational status however clearly refers to the situation of the late 1960s.

The occupational titles given to the authorities (and subsequently listed in the city and congregational records) are not altogether reliable. We can assume that there are some mistakes. I have taken the titles as they appear in the primary source material and cross-referenced them with the research material taken from other sources, such as alumni books, business catalogues, and have made some corrections. For instance, I have added an occupational status for those women who clearly were principle share-holders in their businesses.

There is an additional way to collect and check the occupational status of those with a higher degree or a larger entrepreneurial activity. Since I have the names of the community members, and the additional information from Amity's genealogy, it is possible to find those with an academic degree from the university and colleague alumni books. I have also scrolled through business catalogues in order to find the Helsinki Jews with a larger entrepreneurial activity.

[95] Ohlström 1960, 21–25.
[96] Taksoituslautakunta, veroluettelot, file 244, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

Table 2 *List of sources for occupational data of the three cross-section years 1915, 1930, and 1972.*

	Imperial era 1915	Interwar period 1930	Postwar period 1972
N=	894	1132	873
Number of individuals with an occupational title	**342**	**419**	**466**
Main sources	"Governor's list" for 1915	Helsinki city register books for 1931	The Helsinki Jewish congregation taxation book for 1972
Additional sources	Business directories 1890, 1920, 1929, 1934, School and University alumni books, Selected sample of family announcements		

Sources: *Uudenmaan läänin kuvernöörin luettelo maassa oleskelevista juutalaisista ("Governor's list for 1915"). Juutalaisten maassa koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1; The Civil Department of the Senate, NA. Helsingin kaupungin henkikirjat 1809–1931 (the Population Register of Uusimaa and Häme Helsinki City Register books for 1931); U599–U617, NA. Taksoituslautakunta ("The Helsinki Jewish congregation taxation book for 1972"), veroluettelot, file 244, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.*

Using these methods, it was possible to find an occupational title for almost all men in 1915 and 1930 (87 % in 1915 and 89 % in 1930) above the age of 16. In 1972, however, such information was found for only 76.7 % of the men.

Table 3 *The share of Occupational Titles in the cross-section data of 1915, 1930, and 1972.*

1915	Men	%	Women	%	All	%
With an Occupational Title	233	88.3	109	38.7	342	62.6
Without an Occupational Title	31	11.7	173	61.3	204	37.4
Total	264	100.0	282	100.0	546	100.0
1930	Men	%	Women	%	All	%
With an Occupational Title	316	88.8	103	31.2	419	61.1
Without an Occupational Title	40	11.2	227	68.8	267	38.9
Total	356	100.0	330	100.0	686	100.0
1972	Men	%	Women	%	All	%
With an Occupational Title	316	76.9	150	34.3	466	55.0
Without an Occupational Title	95	23.1	287	65.7	382	45.0
Total	411	100.0	437	100.0	848	100.0

Sources: *The cross-section years 1915, 1930, and 1972, for more detailed information, see the Appendix.*

As Table 3 shows, the data on occupational titles is strongly gender biased. Women are often hidden in the material, a recognized problem in all social and business history.[97] The occupational information was normally only provided for heads of households and women appear in the material only if they were unmarried or widowed. This does not mean that the women were not working. Women were often *de facto* partners in business, but lacked legal status.[98]

Silences in the archives can be interpreted, and the interpretations can be analyzed.[99] The number of women without an occupation may, for example, indicate rising living standards. Being at home indicates both status and a certain economic position – the salary of the man was sufficient to provide a good living for his family with a middle-class status or aspirations to gain such a status.[100] Rita Bredefeldt has noted that, in Sweden, the Jewish women disappeared from working occupations due to the acquired middle-class position and thus their input disappears from the sources.[101]

The role of housewife itself, of course, involved many tasks which required responsibility and skills essential to the career of the man including organizing dinner parties and managing correspondence. While this is true for all upper middle-class families, some Jewish women also kept kosher at home, which involved additional responsibilities. In many cases, however, it is most probable that women in the Helsinki Jewish community worked and played an important role in providing income for their families although it does not appear in the sources.

[97] Colli & Rose 2007, 203.
[98] Green 2002; Kaplan 1991; Colli & Rose 2007.
[99] Rahikainen & Fellman 2012, 20–21; Green 2002.
[100] Kaplan 1991, 168–171, Green 2002, 54.
[101] Bredefeldt 2008, 95–96.

With the cross-section material on Helsinki Jewish job titles and occupations it is possible to define the Helsinki Jewish companies among the companies in the trade register. The data on companies enables one to control the conclusions drawn by occupational titles in terms of entrepreneurship and self-employment.

An entrepreneur can be the owner of several companies. A company can have several shareholders. None of this information is available without methods to determine what makes a company "Jewish" and how to identify these firms. By "Jewish companies," I refer to firms whose owners, associates, or major shareholders were members of the Helsinki Jewish community. Known or assumed Jewish background is not enough to consider a company "Jewish." To estimate the number of Jewish firms, I use the previously mentioned research data of the three cross-section years. "Jewish firms" from now on refers to a controlling ownership stake for a firm by a member of the Helsinki Jewish congregation.

A relevant yet complicated question is what here should constitute a "company"? Research often targets certain kinds of companies and use size, ownership, category of business, or other factor as an outline to define what kind of firms should be included. In the case of my research, the focus is the membership in an ethno-religious community and thus the different companies involved in the study vary from almost informal economy of self-employment to one of the biggest consumer good businesses in the city of Helsinki.

I have collected the database on the Helsinki Jewish firms using four overlapping methods.

I) First, in Finland all information concerning companies is public and easily available. The companies analyzed in this study are all found in the Finnish trade register.[102] Once I have the community constructed, it is possible to collect information on occupations and business.

II) Second, I have used the business sections of trade directories. The methods to organize the information changed from year to year and one publisher to another which makes comparisons over time difficult. On the other hand, the way the information is organized is sometimes revealing. Depending on how the information is organized, trade directories can provide an overview on the patterns of the Jewish business and its relevance for a certain category of business. A look at the trade directory of Finland's largest towns from the turn of the century provides the type of overview required to see that it is the garment and textile industry that one wants to examine, if one is interested in how the Jewish families earned their living. This is a quick way to estimate what the occupational profile must have looked like. [103]

III) Third, I have the records of taxation on Jewish companies using the tax lists of the Helsinki Jewish archives.[104] The database includes some companies several times, because re-organization of the firm is conducted by formally establishing a new company. There are also registered company names that have never operated in practice. Such a registered company name can be anything from a business in name only to a large share holding company employing hundreds of people and having several affiliates. Some companies only operated for 6 months, while others were in business for almost a century. The taxation lists

[102] The National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland PRH, NA. The Trade register was founded in 1896.

[103] Finlands Handelskalender 1890; 1920; 1929; 1933; Sininen kirja 1948; 1966.

[104] Yritykset, väestörekisteri, verotiedot, file 3; Osakeyhtiöt 1956–66, file 249, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

have some limits as reliable source material. There is no reason to think that the entrepreneurs would have had any more interest in paying taxes for the synagogue than in paying taxes to the City of Helsinki – especially as many of the more affluent entrepreneurs also donated significant sums of money for the mutual-self-help associations. The contradictions between the patrons and the religious leaders provoked fierce disagreements.The taxation process produced a constant flow of complaints. These lists are full of corrections, question marks, and crossed-out company names.

Table 4 *Summary of sources used to find the Jewish-owned companies in Helsinki.*

Source	Years covered
Register of set-up business in trade register by the National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland	1896–1970
Helsinki Jewish taxation books	1930, 1962
Business directories	1929,1930,1965
Littoinen Credit status inquiries for 1926	1925–1926
Fragmentary advertisement in publications found in the archives of the Helsinki Jewish community and articles found in *Brages press klipp arkiv*.	1890–1980

Sources: *The National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland PRH, NA. Finlands Handelskalender 1890; 1920; 1929; 1933; Sininen kirja 1948; 1966.*

Yritykset, väestörekisteri, verotiedot, file 3; Osakeyhtiöt 1956–66, file 249, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA. Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.

The data series contains 701 Jewish-owned companies that were set-up between 1896 and 1969. Furthermore, there are some 300 companies owned by members of the Jewish communities elsewhere in Finland, most of them in Turku and, until 1944, in Viipuri. These are in principle not included in the analyses – except in cases where the company has opened a branch shop in Helsinki. An exception to this rule is made in the case of companies from Viipuri that were re-established in Helsinki after the war.

The additional source material is not just there to fill in the gaps of the cross-section year data. I also use this material to catch glimpses of information on the manner in which, and according to what limits, the Jews in Helsinki crossed the ethnic boundaries, and became "just" Finns in the business books, business associations, and so on. Such information does not, of course, form a clearly defined source material; but, much interesting information on how contemporaries saw and acted in their world is thus revealed, to again use Wimmers words.[105]

There are unpublished memoirs where questions about gaining a livelihood are occasionally raised. I mostly rely on two unpublished works: Jac Weinstein's chronicle to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Helsinki synagogue from 1956[106]; and Miriam

[105] Wimmer 2008, 975.
[106] Weinstein 1956 a, b.

Selgison's genealogy from 1981.[107] For the Jewish community the occupational structure seems to have been so self-evident that it required no extra attention. There are references to "the business" or "the stores" here and there, and the authors seem to have taken it for granted that the reader, a community member, would understand these references. Unfortunately there are very few documents left from *Judiska köpmannaklubben* [Helsinki Jewish Business Club, in Swedish]. The only files in the Helsinki Jewish Archives are bridge and gambling receipts.[108]

It is not uncommon to find separate company files including Jewish-only owned companies. In the Helsinki Jewish archives, there is a 1913 phone directory with all the Jewish companies underlined.[109] For example, in 1926 one of the largest textile factories in Finland, *Littoisten verkatehdas*, had a special file on the Jewish customers. Whatever the reasons for someone at the clothing factory to organize a special "Jewish" file, it is a revealing source. The file contains rich and detailed information on the financial standing of the Jewish companies in Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri – as well as Jewish customers in the Baltic States.

Accounts like this constitute a rich source material that sheds light onto several issues: first, *Littoinen* files reveal glimpses of the kind of attitudes Jews faced in the common society of the time; second, the files contain credit status inquiries that describe Jewish business relations in a unique way.

[107] Seligson 1981. Since 1978 the community has a paper HaKehila, which sometimes publishes little memoires and obituaries, for instance a very useful description of the Helsinki Jewish fashion and textile business in the 1960s, "Window-shopping i Helsingfors," HaKehila 5–6, 1997.
[108] Judiska köpmannaklubben, file 382, Archive of the Finnish Jews, NA.
[109] The Helsinki City telephone catalogue of 1913, file 13, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

2.4 Analyzing the Data

As occupations are the key variable in the study of social mobility, methods have been established for meaningful organization of research material with occupational titles. Comparative studies require a scheme that would set the world of work, terminology related to occupations, skills, working relationships, and education, comparable across time and space. I will use the Historical International Classification of Occupations (HISCO) developed in the Netherlands.[110] The HISCO system is based on the guidelines set by the international labor office in the 1950s. It involves nine major groups divided into several minor groups according to the nature of the work, qualifications and social relations.[111]

I have made the occupational descriptions comparable by using the categories and codes for occupational tasks and duties of the HISCO project. The basic idea of HISCO is to make the occupational titles used in different countries and linguistic areas comparable to each other.

The occupational titles in the records I am using – police lists, city registration books, taxation lists and business directories – refer to many different aspects of working life that mix professions (teacher, military doctor, tailor), ownership (owner of a firm), education (candidate of law, a person with a university degree in medicine), employee in someone else's firm in the private sector, or as a worker or an officer in the public sector, and titles such as owner of a property, or dancer, or housewife, widow, or doctor's wife.

Occupational descriptions also vary from major titles, such as a businessman or a doctor, to specific subclasses with detailed information on contents and objectives of the work "a manufacturers' agent on a commission basis" or a "public health physician." The basic idea of the HISCO scheme is to create a system that helps us to code different occupational descriptions into a mode coherent enough to allow comparisons. The categorization of occupations into HISCO major groups, based on broad economic sectors, and of HISCO minor groups (with more detailed contents of the work or duties) is of course not disconnected from the research problem.

The social milieu, required expertise, and both economic and social status of different occupational categories are very different. In the HISCO scheme doctors are encompassed within the major group of professional and technical experts with a higher education (Major Group 0-1, Minor Group 0) while tailors belong to a major group of work engaged with production (Major Group 7 to 9, Minor Group 7). Within the minor groups, there are several units and micro units requiring more detailed information. For example HISCO recognizes 7 micro-groups under the unit group "medical doctors." Under the unit group for "tailors, dress makers, seamsters, upholsterers, and related workers," there are 7 unit groups and, "tailors and dress makers" are further divided into five micro-groups. HISCO classifies the work but it does not reveal if the work is done on the basis of employment, self-employment, or as employed wage-workers

As stated above, with the selection of the research material, I have been inspired by network analyses. However, a challenge present in all network studies becomes an

[110] For the HISCO database, see, http://hisco.antenna.nl/.

[111] The major groups consists of professional, technical and related workers (groups 0 and 1), administrative and managerial workers (2), Clerical and related workers (3), sales workers (4), service workers (5), agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters (6), and production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers (7, 8, 9).

unbearable problem in the long-analyses of a transnational minority: some criteria can be given for a "Jewish" network. Yet the social networks are overlapping, there are many layers of them and they are changing constantly. The context of the network shifts all the time. Instead of reconstructing a network I will reconstruct the occupational profile of the community in different eras. Rather than looking for strong and weak ties, and agencies, I will reconstruct an overall picture of entrepreneurial activity into descriptive statistics, and interpret the implications for the Helsinki Jewish community. I will also contrast and compare them to the dominant narrative and anecdotal evidence. Occupation is a variable that indicates stratification, mobility, and the labor market situation.[112] There are three ways to elaborate the occupations: i) which category they belong to in the HISCO scheme; ii) whether one is an employed wage worker, self-employed, or an entrepreneur; and, iii) whether the work done is done within "the ethnic economy."

The HISCO scheme was developed for spatial and geographical comparative research. Here, however, I use it in a somewhat different, but equally effective manner: I will compare the occupational profile of a small community from one time period to another.

I wish to explore the nuances in the process by combining, comparing and contrasting narratives to my data on employment, self-employment, and entrepreneurship in the community from the First World War until the early 1970s. I will compare and contrast this data to the way the history of the local Jews has been written and according to the historical context for which it has been narrated.

For example, a very central part of the collective memory of the original families in the Helsinki Jewish congregation is the *"Narinkka"* (in Finnish) or *"Narinken"* (in Swedish) marketplace.[113] Its name is derived from the Russian word *"na rynke,"* on the marketplace. This was the place where Jews were allowed to trade used clothes. The dominant narrative takes Narinkka (in Yiddish, *der idisher mark di narinke),* as a local Ghetto, a symbol of poverty and an extremely limited means for gaining a livelihood.

[112] E.g., van Leuwen, Maas & Miles, 2002, 10.

[113] I will use the Finnish form of the name throughout, with one exception. If the original text of translations has been in Swedish, I use the Swedish form.

3. A Compact Community

Both Helsinki as a capital city and its Jewish community are the results of the early nineteenth-century military policies of Imperial Russia. This vast empire was composed of many nationalities, minorities and autonomous regions. The Russian semi-standing army had a great impact on the social and economic development of the growing empire in the first half of the nineteenth century.[114]

During the Swedish reign, Finland was more a geographical concept than a political one. As a consequence of the Napoleonic wars in 1809, Finland achieved the status of a self-governing Grand Duchy. The Autonomy of Finland consisted of two parts. First, the core areas of Finland were incorporated into Russia in 1809. Then, three years later in 1812, Russia incorporated the bordering territories that it had gained from Sweden in 1721 and 1743 (referred to as "Old Finland," as seen from the Russian perspective), adding these to the newly autonomous Grand Duchy (Russia's "new Finland").

The history of Helsinki (in Swedish, Helsingfors) pre-dates the Russians, but as a political and economic center it is only with the Imperial era that, due to strategic military reasons, Helsinki gained its central position. During the era of Swedish rule Helsinki was an insignificant Swedish-speaking coastal town. Moreover, the town had suffered from the earlier Russian occupations of the 1720s and 1740s. By the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815) Helsinki had some 3,500 inhabitants. Yet Helsinki was protected by the strongest sea-fortress in Europe, *Sveaborg* (a Swedish term referred to in contemporary Finnish as *Viapori*, and referred to in Finnish today as *Suomenlinna*). This made it desirable for Russian military development.[115]

A new Russian administration named Helsinki the new capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. From the Russian perspective, social circles in Turku (in Swedish, Åbo), the largest and most important Finnish town at that time, were disturbingly close to Stockholm. Helsinki presented a more favorable location for a capital city. Large parts of Helsinki had been burnt in 1808 which made a fresh start possible with a large reconstruction project. More importantly, Helsinki had a good strategic location for the defense of the imperial capital of St. Petersburg.[116]

Russia showed great interest in the development of Helsinki and the town received massive investments. The neo-classical silhouette of the newly built center came to symbolize the power and goodwill of tsarist Russia.[117] Mercantile agents followed the army and construction projects. Many of the largest trading houses in the first half of the nineteenth century were of Russian origin. These families soon gained local bourgeois rights and blended with the Swedish-speaking bourgeois class of Helsinki.[118] At the time of the Crimean War (1853–56) most of the Orthodox Russian-speaking population consisted of soldiers and staff from the large garrisons. Russian army garrisons were separate territories within Finnish towns, furnished with their own social institutions.

[114] Wirtschafter 1995, 216.
[115] Kervanto-Nevanlinna 2001, 21.
[116] Engman 1995.
[117] Kervanto-Nevanlinna 2001, 21.
[118] Hakala 2002, 23.

Russian integration policy towards its extended new territories was to reserve the local legislation and to integrate the ruling elites into the empire by guaranteeing extensive rights to them. The autonomous regions could preserve their legislation and central institutions, because these remained in the hands of the local elites.[119] At the same time, they were offered good career prospects in the army and imperial administration. This ruling principle in Imperial Russia was called selective integration.[120] As Finland was under the Tsar's direct rule, the laws were prepared in Finland but passed by the Tsar. Autocratic Russia integrated the ruling elites of new lands into the empire by guaranteeing them extensive privileges and offering them good career prospects in the army and imperial administration. Similar career prospects on Finnish territory, however, were in principal restricted only to Finnish citizens.[121]

With its new status Helsinki grew rapidly. The military projects and the large Russian military garrisons ensured a constant demand for construction materials, workers, and consumer goods, which boosted the local economy. Most new Helsinki residents came from the Finnish-speaking countryside and the originally Swedish-speaking town developed a multilingual character.

The Imperial Russian military brought a new cosmopolitan mixture to the city; the conscripts and officers came from various linguistic and religious backgrounds. There were Polish Catholics, Tatars, and even some Jews – despite Russian legislation that, in principle, made most positions (occupations) forbidden to Jews.

Since the eighteenth century there had been teachers at the university in Turku who had a Jewish background.[122] There were occasionally Jewish expediters for the Swedish military. However, in the Swedish era there could be no permanent Jewish settlement in Finland. The Swedish constitution from 1772 decreed that all subjects had to follow the Lutheran faith.[123]

In the Grand Duchy of Finland, this principle was modified to include the Russian (Greek) Orthodox Church as the second state religion. In the late Imperial period, when the rise of nationalism on both sides heightened tensions between Finland and Russia, the constitution and legislation from the Swedish era in Finland, together with the Lutheran state religion, were seen as key elements fundamental to Finland's claim to autonomy.

The legislation from the Swedish era had no specific regulations concerning the Jews in Finland. However the Swedish kingdom did have special Jewish regulations from 1782 that permitted Jewish congregations to form in three specific towns: the capital Stockholm, Gothenburg, Norrköping and later the military town of Karlskrona. None of these towns were in the economically less developed eastern provinces (Finland).

The treatment of Jews is a good example of how Russia used the local legislation for its own purposes. In 1830 Russia's highest representative in Finland, General Governor Arseny Andreyevich Zakresky, decreed that the Swedish 1782 regulations on Jews be preserved in Finland.[124] Symbolically it was important that the Russians appeared to be upholding and honoring the Finnish constitution, but in effect it followed (aligning perfectly with) Russia's

[119] Kissane 2000, 27.
[120] Klier 1995.
[121] Kissane 2000, 27.
[122] Harviainen1998, 291–293.
[123] Harviainen 2000; Illman & Harviainen, 1986.
[124] Torvinen 1989, 24–25.

existing Jewish policy, which restricted the vast majority of Jews to the Russian Pale of Settlement.

Therefore, while legislation was gradually modernized in Sweden, where by the 1870s Jews had full civil rights, the paragraph banning Jews from living in the kingdom was interpreted to be in use in Finland as a part of a larger constitutional pact. As an autonomous part of the Russian empire, Finland kept the basic legal codes from the late eighteenth century.

The Russian military garrisons were their own parallel societies within the Finnish autonomy. In principle, they did not interfere with Finnish civil society. Yet where the military functions were concerned the needs of the Russian military surpassed the local Finnish laws.

The social system of the multinational tsarist Empire consisted of different social categories and select privileges. In principle, Jews could only live in the Pale of Settlement. In practice, besides soldiers, skilled Jewish workers were sporadically hired by the Russian army. The military offered basic facilities for different religious minorities. The first Jewish children in Helsinki, were born in the 1830s in the sea fortress of Sveaborg to Jewish families serving there.[125]

With special permits, a few Jewish families had been living in so-called Old Finland – the territories that had been under Russian control since the late eighteenth century. Yet there were no permanent Jewish institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century. In an ethnographic study covering Finnish people from 1849 von Köppen stated: "*There are only a handful of Jews in Finland*" but he did not specify who these Jews were or where they lived.[126]

[125] Illman & Harviainen 1986; Illman & Harviainen 1989; Harviainen 1988; Davidkin & al 1986.
[126] von Köppen, 1849.

3.1 The Formation of the Community Under Conflicting Regulations

The "founding fathers" of the Finnish Jewish communities were Yiddish speaking men of Orthodox Jewish faith who had been born in the 1830s and 1840s. They came from North-Eastern Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus from districts such as Kaunas/Kovno, Łomża, Łódź and Białystok.[127] Many of them were conscripted into military institutions in the Russian army known as *cantonist schools*.

The Cantonist schools consist of a special part of Eastern European Jewish history under the tsarist regime, and thus a stable pillar for the narration of a collective memory. Military recruitment became a notorious part of Eastern European Jewish history before and during the Crimean War. The Jewish recruitment rate was not higher than for other groups but the Jewish draftees were younger.[128] Many Jews were conscripted as children and taken to special military units, cantonist schools, for preparatory training. These Jewish soldiers were known as "cantonists"[129] or "Nicholayevsker soldiers".[130]

The military training was a part of a greater attempt to "productivize" the Jews and to make "useful" the Jewish population in the Western provinces.[131] A tacit goal of the cantonist policy was to break the integrity of the Jewish communities. Under-aged boys were transferred from their home villages in the Pale of Settlement to live with Russian families and to be trained in the military schools. It was long journey of several weeks to such far-flung places as Kazan, Orenburg, and even to Siberia.The reputation of these schools was notorious. The cantonist institution was originally intended for vagabonds and the offspring of criminals. The living conditions in the camps were not suitable for young children, and the death rate in their units was notably high. It was an explicit policy to convert as many of these young Jewish boys as possible to the Greek Orthodox faith. The harsh methods used in the campaign have become part of the folklore and collective memory of the Eastern European Jews.[132] The recruitment process became more intense during the Crimean War when Jewish quotas exceeded the number of potential recruits. The histories of gangs of kidnappers (in Yiddish "khapers") who roved the Pale stealing Jewish boys from their families are from the years 1852 to 1855 but came to symbolize the entire Cantonist system.[133]

Until the Crimean War, Finland's restrictive Jewish policy from the Swedish era did not conflict with Russian legislation. War had revealed great weakness in the military power of the Russian empire and led to extensive social reforms for Russia, Finland, and Jews under Russian reign. The Cantonist system was abolished after the war. Military service was gradually shortened. In an 1858 decree, the new Tsar Alexander II permitted soldiers and non-commissioned officers, together with their families, to freely decide where they wanted

[127] Muir 2004, 21–23.
[128] Nathans 2002, 27–28.
[129] Strascheffsky, Judisk årsbok 1930.
[130] Wengeroff (1913) 2000, 202.
[131] Nathans 2002; Penslar 2001.
[132] Slutsky, 2007.
[133] Slutsky, 2007.

to settle. This right did not apply to Jewish soldiers before 1867, yet there was internal pressure to treat all social groups equally in the Imperial Russian army.[134]

Following the great reforms, new possibilities for Jews to reside outside the Pale emerged. The number of Jews in large Russian towns increased between 1856 and 1917.[135] Restrictions concerning the Pale of Settlement were gradually eased but never completely lifted until the Russian revolution. Beginning in 1856 Jewish doctors could enter Russian state service without converting.[136] In 1859 members of the first guild merchants were given the right to dwell outside the Pale. In 1865 a new law permitted Jewish mechanics, distillers, brewers, and craftsmen to leave the Pale.[137] In 1879 Jews with higher education gained the same right – a decision that soon dramatically increased the number of Jewish students at Russian universities.[138] Consequently the Jewish population, especially the Jewish intelligentsia, grew and gained influence in the major cities. In the 1897 Russian census, 314,000 Jews resided in Russia proper and in other parts of Imperial Russia beyond the Pale of Settlement (excluding Poland and Finland).[139] The number of Jews who could acquire residence rights in Russia proper increased over the years, and many more lived in the larger Russian cities illegally.[140] For those young Jewish men, who lacked other criteria to obtain a passport, the army provided a legal way and a number of options to move outside the Pale – including Finland if the military service took place on Finnish territory.

Legislation concerning the Russian military conflicted with Finnish legislation, thereby leaving Jewish soldiers serving in Finland in a contradictory position. They had a legal right to stay in Finland, yet they lacked local civil rights. The origins of the congregation as a community of the *Nicholayevsker* soldiers, and the new Jewish recruits who joined the military, were used to draw the institutional boundaries of the Jewish community long afterwards.

In Imperial Russia, boundaries between civilian and soldier were irregular.[141] In the first half of the nineteenth century military service lasted 25 years. During their long service, soldiers established families who often lived in the military garrisons or nearby. The retired soldiers, their wives, widows and children formed new social categories and issues of social welfare arose.[142] A retired soldier received a passport, a small amount of money, and the clothes on his back.[143] Jewish soldiers now had passports like other non-Finnish citizens and a status that enabled them to stay in Finland despite the local ban. However, soldiers of lower rank ran a high risk of falling into poverty after their service. "*They crafted or obtained what goods they could and hopefully sold enough to sustain themselves and their families,*" as military historian Elise Wirtschafter has described.[144]

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[134] Nathans 2002, 63–64.
[135] Nathans 2002, 83.
[136] Nathans 2002, 60–61.
[137] Klier 1995, 29-31; Nathans 2002, 65–66.
[138] Nathans 2002, 62.
[139] Nathans 2002, 66. The total number of Jews in the 1897 census data was 5.2 million in the first empire-wide census, ibid., 4; according to Kahan 1986, it was 4,910,327 individuals defined by religion (the other definition being based on Yiddish as mother-tongue). Finland was not included in the Russian 1897 census.
[140] Nathans 2002, 66.
[141] Wirtschafter 1995, 228.
[142] Wirtschafter 1995, 216–219.
[143] Wirtschafter 1995, 218.
[144] Wirschafter 1995, 224.

The Finnish Senate prepared an edict in 1869 on the means of livelihood permitted to Russian soldiers – whatever religion they adhered to – and their families throughout Finland. It stated that these people could pursue tax-free trade with baked goods, other self-made products and berries. Within the town, they could trade on these tax-free products, whereas second-hand clothes and used shoes, along with other used goods and cheaper linen, scarves and hats, shoes, string, filament, needles, and other tawdry items would receive the same taxation rate as that of Finnish citizens.[145]

Originally, the order was intended to guarantee general rights for the permitted Russian soldiers so that they might gain a livelihood regardless of where they lived in Finland. In mid-nineteenth-century Finland, regulations on trade varied considerably from place to place and some towns had forbidden the permitted Russian soldiers to conduct trade. The order of 1869 was intended to guarantee all permitted soldiers, their wives, and widows throughout Finland the same economic possibilities accorded to other Finnish subjects, without discrimination against a certain group.[146]

Helsinki in the early twentieth century, like most European cities before World War II, had areas associated with Jewish life and industry. The most important of these was the old marketplace called Narinkka (in Finnish) or Narinken (in Swedish). Originally Russian, this marketplace in the Kamppi/Kamp(malmen) district is where the retired Jewish soldiers, their wives and widows sold second-hand clothing. In a Jewish shtetl of Eastern Europe, in the center of the little town was the rynek, a marketplace where Jews sold items almost identical to those of the Finnish Narinkka.[147]

Nearby stood rows of small garment stores. The western part of Heikinkatu/Henriksgatan boulevard leading into the center of Helsinki was known for its "*klädjudar,*" Jewish clothiers selling ready-to-wear from small shops. Both areas were a short walking distance from the synagogue.[148]

The Jewish character of what today is part of the *Mannerheimintie/Mannerheimvägen* main street in Helsinki's city center has completely vanished and its history is no longer general knowledge. Narinkka, on the other hand, stands as a symbol in the memory of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Helsinki. In popular historical consciousness, it has come to represent the more exotic elements of times past. In the history of Helsinki the marketplace is mentioned in the context of heterogeneity of working-class Helsinki in the Imperial era:

> *The folk life of 'Kampen' between the Turku garrison* [named for its location near the road leading to the town of Turku] *and* [the harbor] *in Sandviken with the strong influence of Russian soldiers and street peddlers, Jewish Narinken peddlers and Tatar carpet-sellers, came to offer a glimpse of a foreign, half-oriental world.*[149]

Memoirs written of the era can shed light on the situation of these former cantonists. The wife of a Lithuanian-born (Jewish) military supplier and banker, Pauline Wengeroff, spent a

[145] Angående i tjänst varande, och obestämd tid permitterad eller afskedad underbefäls och manskaps vid den i Finland förlagda ryska militär även om deras hustrurs och enkors rätt att här i landet utöva näringsfång, given i Helsingfors den 30 Juni 1869, § 17, (Law on forms of livelihood for permitted soldiers, given in Helsinki on the 30th of June 1869).

[146] Statssekretariets för Stor Fürstendomet I Finland act "Vid ryska militären och deras hustru och enkors rätt att utöva näringsföring, Helsingfors 1/1869, VSV, NA.

[147] Wasserstein 2012.

[148] Ekholm 2005, Ekholm 2006.

[149] Åström 1956, 39, my translation, original in Swedish.

year in the fortress of Sveaborg in 1866–67 because of her husband's work. In her memoirs she described the small community in Helsinki in the following way:

> *There was only one advantage arising from these heavy years of military service. Those of the Jewish soldiers who did not succumb to the exertions and to the brutality of their commanders, and survived the twenty-five years of service with healthy bodies, could live wherever they wanted in Russia. With this advantage they often became quite rich later on. But the majority did not survive in good health. Now I had to live in a community of Nicholayevsker soldiers (...).*[150]

At those times, in the 1860s and 1870s, the life of the Jewish colony settled down in many respects. The Russian military provided facilities for a synagogue. The Burial Aid Society *Chevra Kadisha* was established in 1864.[151] In 1867 the congregation in Helsinki was able to hire its first rabbi. Twelve years later the health-care association *Bicur Cholim* was established, meaning that the community now had many of the institutions essential to the rituals and lifecycle passages of Judaism.

This was part of a broader institutional recognition of the religious minorities in the town of Helsinki. Many of the non-Lutheran churches were built in the 1860s. The Catholic Cathedral was inaugurated in 1860.[152] The new Roman Catholic Church served the Catholic soldiers from Poland and Lithuania. The evangelical Lutheran German church was built in 1864 for the Baltic German families. Many of these German families had a notable position in the industrial and commercial development of nineteenth-century Finland. The Greek Catholic congregation in Helsinki started to build a new cathedral in 1862. The Uspeski Cathedral was inaugurated in 1868.[153] The "praying rooms" for Jewish and Moslem soldiers and their families were organized by the Russian army in hired facilities. The different religions involved were considered for very practical reasons. For example, how much land should be reserved for the cemeteries, and which for whom? So far the population of Finland had been counted according to parish registers which meant there was a burgeoning population of city dwellers not accounted for by official records. It is therefore no coincidence that the first population census based on information collected from all the inhabitants was conducted in 1870.[154]

The first official census of Helsinki from 1870 shows that the dominant language was still Swedish, but in addition to the growing Finnish population one could hear Russian, German Polish, Tatar, and Yiddish in the streets of Helsinki.[155] In a town of 32, 113 inhabitants a total of 5, 055, almost 16 % of the people, *"n'etants pas subjects de Finlande"*.[156] Of these, the largest group were the Russian Greek Orthodox; the second largest the Roman Catholics. The official Helsinki census of 1870 found 226 "Israelites", of whom 123 were men and 103 were women.[157]

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[150] Wengeroff 2000 [1913], 202.
[151] Kantor, London-Zweig & Muir, 2006, 155; www.fennojudaica.fi.
[152] Helsinki was established in 1550, this is after the reformation, and the town has therefore always been predominantly Lutheran.
[153] Ollila & Toppari 1986, 302.
[154] Official Statistics of Finland (OSF), 1870.
[155] Official Statistics of Finland (OSF), 1870.
[156] Official Statistics of Finland (OSF), 1870, table XXXIV.
[157] Official Statistics of Finland (OSF), 1870, table 10.

3.2 Russian Subjects under Finnish Authority

Around the time of the census the Finnish authorities awoke to the fact that there were Jewish communities in Finland despite the order that forbade Jewish residence. In 1876 the Senate sent out a circular, in which it was underlined that the 1869 edict on the means of gaining a livelihood for authorized soldiers applied specifically to Jews. Now the renewed edict had an insertion especially forbidding Jews to participate in markets or obtain any kind of work outside the towns of Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri.[158] This time, when the order was applied to the Jewish population the intention was quite different from the original meaning of the law. It was now used to restrict the Jewish business to small-scale trade.

Another problem emerged when Jewish children, who had been born and brought up in Finland, came of age. The marriage of these young Jews was, in principle, legal grounds for expulsion "back home." According to a very strict interpretation the temporary bills of residence concerned only the soldiers, their wives and widows, and under-aged children.

This new generation of Jewish youths, who had spent their entire childhoods in Finland, was officially considered Russian subjects and was required by law to "return" to their "homes" in Russia. In the police lists and according to the Finnish administration, these youths were formally registered in the towns where their fathers had once been conscripted, including places like Schlüsselburg (today Petrokrepost), Novogorod, and Tvern.[159] The police lists include place names like Kaunas/Kowno, Vilnous (Lithuania), Grodno (Belarus) and Łomża (Poland).[160]

The small Jewish congregations became a prestige question between Finnish authorities and Russian rule. The Finnish authorities could not prevent Jewish soldiers from obtaining residence permits from the Governors. They could and did hinder Jews, however, from settling down by way of laws which required Jews to re-register every six months to their nearest police station.[161] If the intention of the Finnish senate and local authorities was to minimize and hinder Jewish settlement in Helsinki, existing laws and regulations were succeeding. However, according to oral history documented by Santeri Jacobsson, it was not uncommon that, when Jews ran into problems on their residency permits, they could find help among Russian military personnel.[162]

For the "believers of Moses" wishing to stay in Helsinki, travelling in the countryside was not a legal option. Their residential permits were local and clearly forbade visiting markets in the countryside. The practical significance of the order may have varied from time to time and place to place, even from one family to another. Helsinki was growing very quickly and the authorities had no means of controlling the number of its inhabitants, let alone controlling their movements.

The situation was unbearable for those Jews who had grown up in a place that did not regard them as lawful citizens. They basically had three options in the case of invalid passports or problems with their bill of residence: conversion to Christianity; emigration to

[158] "Juutalaiset" in Suuri tietosanakirja III, 1911, Jacobsson 1951; Torvinen 1989.
[159] Harviainen 2000, 160.
[160] Passitoimisto, II piirin Moosestenuskovaisten kirja 1890–93, 1903, 1904, 1905, HPL-Bk1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Helsinki Police Archives, NA.
[161] Jacobsson 1951, 253–254.
[162] Jacobsson 1951.

the West; or hide and bribe the local authorities in Helsinki, Turku, or Viipuri and rely on the help of pro-Jewish circles in order to avoid expulsion. All these alternatives were employed.

It was not uncommon in established bourgeois families in Finland to have Jewish ancestors. These families usually came to Finland via Sweden and had their roots in Germany. They had converted to the Lutheran faith before moving to Finland. They represented the Swedish or German bourgeois. Hence they identified themselves and were associated to a completely different social position than the Russian soldiers, let alone Eastern European Jews. For example, one of the most prominent industrial players in the nineteenth-century Finnish cotton-mill industry, *Axel Wilhelm Wahren,* was originally from a Jewish family. His family came from Mecklenburg in Germany and had moved to Sweden in the eighteenth century. Young Wahren converted to Christianity in 1836 and married a Christian woman. Soon after that he was invited to run a new broadcloth mill in Jokioinen, Finland.[163] In 1881 he was even advanced to the level of Finnish nobility by the emperor.[164]

There are no definitive statistics on the number of Jews who converted to the Lutheran or Greek Orthodox faith. Without question it happened, but it seems to have been a rare occurrence. On the police lists of Jews in Helsinki in the 1890s, among 849 names there are only two notes of a person having been baptized.[165] On the 1915 database, there are two cases with the notation "has been baptized." One was a single mother of two children, a seamstress from St. Petersburg. Another woman is on the list along with a note: "husband is said to have been baptized."[166]

There are stories of "symbolic" conversion on paper for practical reasons. Indeed, a specific term "Finnish baptism" among members of the Russian Jewish intelligentsia indicates that taking baptism in Finland was easier than in Russia.[167] A contemporary short story, written in the form of fiction, but based on real events and individuals, from late 19th century Viipuri recalls the family of master tinsmith Moses Weikkanen whose widow worked as an eye specialist.[168] She was dressed in *"a large turban"[...] "as the Jewish religion prescribes."*[169] The author recalls that *"two of the boys received a Lutheran baptism and some of the daughters also chose the only true religion."*[170] In this case, conversion seems to have been beneficial to his career as the author continues:

'The oldest son Kain allowed himself to be baptized in the Swedish church [of Viipuri] and many of the notable merchants were his godfathers. Kain Weikkanen received the name Konrad upon being christened and he continued in the profession of his father, was a member of the local court until the court was closed down, and was a councilman on the town council until his death. He left a huge property which his younger brother Abraham, a

[163] Herranen, 2008.
[164] Herranen, 2008.
[165] Passitoimisto, II piirin Moosestenuskovaisten kirja 1890–93, 1903, 1904, 1905, HPL-Bk1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Helsinki Police Archives, NA.
[166] Uudenmaan läänin kuvernöörin lista läänissä asuvista juutalaisista, Senaatin siviilitoimituskunta, juutalaisten maassa oleskelua koskevia asiakirjoja 1894–1915, He1, The Civil Department of the Senate, NA.
[167] Freidin 2010.
[168] Hirn 1996 [Fagerlund 1894], the story is written and published as short novels in a Viipuri-based newspaper by Fagerlund (in Swedish) in 1894. It was edited and translated into Finnish by Sven Hirn in 1996.
[169] Hirn 1996 [Fagerlund 1894], 134.
[170] Hirn 1996 [Fagerlund 1894], 134.

clockmaker inherited.' The story, written in 1899 mentions two daughters by names: 'Katja "chose the true path" but Rebecka kept her Jewish faith.'[171]

At the time of this story, in the mid-nineteenth century, taking the Christian faith seems to have led to acceptance in Christian society. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Lutheran Finnish society seems to have been more concerned with Jews as a different nationality or even race. This attitude is dramatically illustrated in a work of Hilja Haahti, a contemporary bestselling author of religious and didactic Christian novels for young girls. As an example of the prevalent mindset of these Christian Finns, it is worth pausing to examine this story.

Published in 1903, *Israelin tyttäret* [The Daughters of Israel, in Finnish][172] is the story of two Jewish girls whose father, rabbi Israel Poll, has died. The younger of the two girls in Haahti's novel, Mirjam, is a good singer. Mirjam befriends a girl her age from a pious Lutheran family with whom she takes music lessons. The friend has an older brother, a good Christian university student who falls in love with Mirjam. Bewildered, Mirjam finds warmth and kindness in this forbidden *goy*. Although she fights against it, she cannot change the fact that *"she loves Jesus!"*[173] But Haahti does not allow her heroine to be formally baptized or become engaged to the Christian boy. Rather, Mirjam dies tragically of pneumonia, whispering about Jesus on her deathbed.[174]

The older Jewish sister, Haijele, lives in Leipzig maintained by rich relatives. She is engaged to a young Jewish man studying medicine. It has been her sisterly duty to keep Mirjam away from non-Jews – so she travels to Helsinki to see what is going on. Upon the tragic death of her sister she realizes she has been deeply unhappy. After the funeral, on the train back to Germany she comes upon a Christian bible. She returns to Leipzig to marry her Jewish fiancée. Yet, in a dramatic scene the newlywed couple abandons their own Jewish wedding. Haijele has understood that she is a daughter of Israel in not one, but two senses: she becomes a Christian Zionist.[175]

Contemporary readers could perhaps have recognized that the real-life model for Mirjam was a celebrity and lieder singer *Ida Ekman.* Ekman, née Morduch, was the daughter of a Helsinki-based rabbi named Israel Jacob Morduch. The father had died soon after Ida was born.[176] Ida's widowed mother sold used clothes together with other Jewish women at the marketplace (Narinkka).[177] Ida would help her mother and this is how a Russian lawyer living near the marketplace heard young Ida singing. Astonished by her skills he provided the talented girl with music lessons.

Ekman's own life is an interesting, if unusual, example of life as a Jew in late 19th century Finland. After musical studies in Helsinki she was sponsored by journalist and cultural activist Berndt Otto Schauman. As a Jew, Ida Morduch was denied studies at the Conservatorium in St. Petersburg. She continued her studies in Vienna, where she married a Finnish (Christian) pianist Karl Ludvig Ekman in 1895.[178] Ida Ekman became one of the most beloved and (renowned) internationally recognized singers of the Lied tradition in early

[171] Hirn 1996 [Fagerlund 1894], 134.
[172] Haahti 1912.
[173] Haahti 1912.
[174] Haahti 1912, 227.
[175] Haahti 1912, 238, 250–251.
[176] Skurnik 2013, 50–54.
[177] Lappalainen, 2001.
[178] Lappalainen, 2001.

20th century Finland. Interfaith marriages remained rare and were generally condemned by the Jewish congregation. As Ida Ekman's story proves, however, they were not impossible.[179] According to the local memories, her sister would also have been offered singing lessons, but this proved impossible as she had already been married to a Jewish man, this at the tender age of 14.[180]

Conversion made Finnish citizenship possible, but was both rare and problematic. For Jews without residency permits, especially the new generation of Finnish-born Jews not covered by the Russian military personnel definition, life as an unlawful citizen demanded other solutions. The only other way for Jewish youths to bypass the Finnish law and thereby avoid expulsion from the country was by joining the Russian army. The young men could enlist and thereby earn their own residential permit. An unmarried Jewish woman could marry a Jewish soldier who was about to finish his service in the army and thereby obtain a residential permit through her husband.[181] Based on the police lists and the data of 1915, this seems to have been the most common strategy for young Finland-born Jewish women in fin-de-siècle Helsinki.

For the rest of the Jews in Finland who lacked valid documents, the options were emigration or illegal residence in the country at the constant risk of expulsion. As discussed previously, "returning" to Russia was preposterous, if not legally impossible. The constant threat of expulsion from Finland seemed arbitrary. The distress of Jewish families with children close to maturity became a source of corruption. It is likely that wealthier families simply bought the needed documents for their children.[182] Indeed, fewer names from the well-off families appear in the lists of emigrants.[183]

The 1880 census of Helsinki states that the Russian-speaking population in Helsinki experienced an eightfold increase in ten years.[184] The statistical yearbook pays particular attention to the increase of the Jewish population in Helsinki.

In the former census there were 87.3 % Lutherans, 10.0 % Greek-Russians (Greek Orthodox), 1.4 % Roman Catholics and 1.0 % Israelis and 0,3 % other religious communities. As a whole, the increase of Israelis in Helsinki has been astonishingly rapid. In 1870 it was 226, but in 1880 there were already 441 persons. Of these last mentioned, more than half were children under the age of 15 and, this fact, in addition to supporting the known claim about the special fertility of the Jewish people, also proves that the above-mentioned increase has been caused by the singularly favorable birth- and death rate, and by no means solely by immigration.[185]

The author, senator and head of the statistical bureau K. F. Ignatius, describes the Jewish population: "but for a few exceptions all these Jews are of Polish and Western Russian Governmental descent and they support themselves by vending used clothes and other second-hand products, tawdry, partly self-made, partly manufactured."*[186]*

[179] L. Skurnik: "Musiikki ja sen vaikuttajat Suomen juutalaisessa yhteisössä", HaKehila 1/1993.
[180] L. Skurnik: "Musiikki ja sen vaikuttajat Suomen juutalaisessa yhteisössä", HaKehila 1/1993.
[181] Jacobsson 1951, 186–187.
[182] Nathans 2002; Jacobsson does not directly mention this but rather hints in this direction, Jacobsson 1951, 108–109.
[183] Passitoimisto, II piirin Moosestenuskovaisten kirja 1890–93, 1903, 1904, 1905, HPL-Bk1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Helsinki Police Archives, NA.
[184] Official Statistics of Finland (SVT) 1880, 13.
[185] Official Statistics of Finland (SVT) 1880, 13.
[186] Official Statistics of Finland (SVT) 1880, 14.

The demographic proportion of Jews was larger than at any other time up until today: one percentage of Helsinki's population. In comparison, the share of Jews in St. Petersburg at the same time was approximately the same.[187]

The third option for Jews was to do what millions of Europeans did at the time: to emigrate to the West. Emigration and expulsion took a dramatic toll on the Jewish population of Helsinki and Finland, as it did throughout Europe. It is possible to comprehend the magnitude of the effects these restrictions and deportations had by way of a quick comparison of Helsinki statistics with those of Toronto in Canada. In both Helsinki and Toronto, the first archival notes on a Jewish settlement date to the 1830s.[188] In both places the communities became more formally established by the mid-1860s. At that time, the communities were almost the same size. Yet by the turn of the century, the Toronto Jewish community had reached 3,100[189] while Helsinki's included some 800 Jews.

It is difficult to estimate how many of the Jews who, according to the police archives, left Finland between 1880 and 1908, were expelled from the country, and how many left the country voluntarily. Certainly, as previously discussed, life in Finland for Jews without proper papers was precarious, so many tried to leave. Over these decades 200,000 Finns immigrated to America.[190] Moreover, the growing Jewish population in Eastern Europe was on the move. Of all Jews living in Eastern Europe, one half migrated, from the countryside to a neighboring town, and from urban settings westward, most often to the United States of America.[191] During the years 1880–1925 a total of four million Jews moved to North America, to Northern and Central Europe, to South Africa and to Palestine.[192] Among them were a few Russian subjects from the Grand Duchy of Finland. Their most common destination was the United States of America. Other places mentioned in the passport lists by the Helsinki police were St. Petersburg, Berlin, Stockholm, and London.[193]

The debate concerning Jewish civil rights in Finland started in 1872 and lasted forty-five years. Inspired by Sweden's new, liberal Jewish policy, the question was first taken to the local Diet in 1870 by a liberal representative of the burghers. The Diet, or one or more of its four estates, discussed it several times but it was either overturned already in the estates or in the Diet.

The debate on Jewish civil rights as documented by Santeri Jacobsson shows that the so-called "Jewish question" was also debated in Finland. In the 1880s, the Finnish nationalists, called *Fennomans,* ran a campaign against the Jewish community. Their representative in the Finnish Diet, Agathon Meurman, went so far as to attempt to establish an *Antisemitenliga* in Finland, but failed to gain enough support.[194] The *Fennoman* party campaigned with a doctrine against what they perceived as "unmanageable Jewish masses from the East" and of the need to protect local markets against the Jewish forces and their "superior entrepreneurial capacities." The arguments denying Jewish emancipation followed all the basic forms of antisemitism from Christian anti-Judaism to modern, quasi-scientific antisemitism. Modern

[187] Beizer 1989.
[188] On Toronto, see Hiebert 1993, 249.
[189] Hiebert 1993, 249.
[190] Haapala 1995, 96–97.
[191] Kahan 1978; Kahan 1986.
[192] Green 1998, 2; for estimates on East European Jewish migration to the USA, see Godley 2001, 78.
[193] Passitoimisto, II piirin Moosestenuskovaisten kirja 1890–93, 1903, 1904, 1905, HPL-Bk1, in Finnish and Swedish, The Helsinki Police Archives, NA.
[194] Jacobsson 1951, 182; Muir 2009a, 349.

antisemitism with its racial theories developed alongside the age-old theologically oriented anti-Judaism.

The discriminatory nature of Finnish Jewish policy became totally explicit in 1889 when the Finnish Senate reaffirmed the old edict: this time the Senate gave an edict which required Jews to re-register every six months at the nearest police station, meaning that they could only get their residence permits for six months at a time.[195] A scholar of Jewish studies Simo Muir has noted that these restrictive policies against Jews followed – after some delay – the wave of pogroms in Russia.[196] It is known that Russia contributed significantly to the attempts of the *Fennomans* with regard to the development of the Finnish language.[197] The reactions and attitudes towards Jews show that there were also other ideological connections between the Finnish *Fennomans* and Russian conservative circles.

Since the early 1900s, a small number of Jews were generally tolerated, if not seen as equal to Finns. The police lists of Jewish evictions from 1903 indicate that, by the early years of the 1900s, a general model recognized that those Jews who had been born in Finland were entitled to stay.[198] The list includes notions: "*Due to being born in Finland, can stay.*" For individual Jews who had arrived in Finland, and who had not been stationed by the Russian military, the chances to get a residential permit were low.[199]

The Governor of Nyland province formally confirmed the congregation in 1903.[200] The inauguration of the new synagogue, the first one designed for this purpose, in August 1906 was also a sign of a general acceptance of Jewish presence in the town.[201]

In an autocratic society the content of "civil rights" was of course different from its present-day meaning. The general rights of Finnish citizens without property were also limited. Less than 30 % of the Finnish population was represented by the four estates in the Diet.[202] The revolution in Russia of 1905 made the difference. As a consequence, in Finland the most antiquated parliamentary system in Europe became one of the most advanced in 1906, having chosen universal suffrage including also women. Now being without civil rights made a considerable difference. This is when the campaign for Jewish civil rights began. After the 1905 political upheaval, Jacobsson organized several meetings around the country on the topic of securing civil rights for Finnish Jews.[203] Some families returned to Finland when the atmosphere towards the Jews had eased by the very end of the nineteenth century, before it again tightened in 1908. On the other hand, new lists of Jews without valid documents, those who were required to leave the Grand Duchy, appear in the police records in 1905 and 1908–09.

In 1909 the newly established Finnish parliament discussed the subject once again and this time voted for Jewish civil rights.[204] The decisions made on the local level could not be passed, however, without the acceptance of the emperor in St. Petersburg. Moreover, during the final years before the Russian revolution in 1917, the legislative system had practically

[195] Jacobsson 1907, 110; "Juutalaiset" in Suuri tietosanakirja III, 1911.
[196] Muir 2010d, 59.
[197] Kissane 2000; 30.
[198] Karkoitukset 1903, Jääskeläinen II/4/I Jääskeläinen, HE1.
[199] Karkoitukset 1903, Jääskeläinen II/4/I Jääskeläinen, HE1.
[200] Weinstein 1956a, 13.
[201] Weinstein 1956a, 19.
[202] Kirby 2006, 147.
[203] Jacobsson 1951, 334. It was in this context that Jacobsson published his 1907 pamphlet.
[204] Jacobsson 1951, 367–398.

ground to a halt. Hence, the Act conceding full civil rights for Jews in Finland was not passed until Finland had declared independence. The act came into force on the 1st of January 1918.[205]

Soon after a small but loud group of Finnish petty-entrepreneurs started their campaign against granting Jews any rights in Finnish society. One of the central claims of the lobby organizations of Finnish commercial and industrial circles was that Jews dominated the Finnish garment industry, despite attempts to restrict their "dominance."[206]

The last ten years before the Civil Rights Act, there were a number of trade associations which actively lobbied against any rights for Jews in Finland. In May 1908 four associations (three of them Finnish, one being Swedish) invited "all business associations, merchant and manufacturing associations" to "A General Assembly of Finland's Merchants, Artisans, and Manufacturing Associations Concerning the Jewish Question" – a question concerning Finland's "industry, businesslife, and economic life in general."[207] Of the 37 different associations participating in the meeting (two of them by telegram) a majority were from small towns like Kuopio, Kotka, Lahti, Oulu, Pori, Rauma, and Heinola, where no Jewish population had ever settled.[208] In a joint effort of different associations, a leaflet was published describing how Jewish entrepreneurs had taken over the embryonic Finnish markets in ready-to-wear retail despite the absent civil rights.[209]

Finnish business could not compete, the representatives in the meeting argued, against the wave of international "forces." They further argued that Jewish competitors were far too experienced, and that they would wipe out the nascent Finnish home-based industry. J. Bärlund, a reporter in the local commercial weekly *Kauppalehti* was also present in the meeting. He appealed to the right of people to protect their nation against Jews who (…) *"use different business methods and principles compared to a people with a fatherland."*[210] Another active participant in the meeting was professor *Kyösti Järvinen*, pioneer of the Finnish language mercantile education.[211]

In the resolution the meeting ended up opposing any civil rights for Jews. The meeting demanded a state-run committee to be set up with representatives from trade and industry for a thorough study of the question.[212]

[205] Lag om mosaiska trorsbekännare, § 7, 12 Jan 1918.
[206] Jakobson 1951; Torvinen 1989; Hanski 2006.
[207] "Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3 p. 1908", 1, in Finnish and Swedish, my translation.
[208] "Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3 p. 1908", 2–3.
[209] Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3 p. 1908, 17.
[210] "Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3 p. 1908", 38, my translation, original in Finnish.
[211] Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3, p. 1908.
[212] "Suomen Kauppias-, käsityö- ja tehdasyhdistysten yleinen kokous Juutalaiskysymyksen johdosta, Helsingissä toukokuun 3 p. 1908", 41, my translation, original in Finnish.

3.4 Occupational Profile in the Literature

Given the tiny minority of Jews in Finland, twentieth-century Finnish scholars, politicians, and journals seemed to be inordinately concerned with theories on the economic role of Jews. The presence of Jews was a considerable topic of debate in early twentieth-century Europe.[213] It was discussed in academic journals ranging from theology to social sciences. The tiny number of Jews actually living in Finland did not, however, reduce the interest in the subject. Whenever an eminent scholar published on the economic role of the Jews in Russia, Germany, or in Scandinavian countries, such publications would circulate and be discussed in Finland as part of the development of the discipline. For instance, Werner Sombart's 1911 "*Die Juden und das Wirthschaftsleben"* ("The Jews and Modern Capitalism") was immediately introduced to Finnish academics and entered the Finnish discussion.

Sombart's main argument was that capitalism was not connected with Protestantism as Max Weber had argued a few years earlier.[214] According to Sombart, the Jewish religion and the Jews were nothing less than the inventors of modern capitalism. A Finnish critic, Professor Ernst Nevanlinna found Sombart's work interesting, even "astonishing." His only concern was the role Sombart accredited to the Jews. In Sombart's assessment, the part Jews played in European history was critical. This was, however, too much for Nevanlinna. According to Nevanlinna, Sombart was stating that it was just a historical coincidence that people like Jews happened to come to live among the peoples of Europe and, thus, reasoned Nevanlinna, Sombart credits Jews too much for Western culture and history. In fact, Sombart seemed to claim that the entire Western culture is "*of secondary significance.*"[215] This argument is revealing, because it demonstrates the manner in which Nevanlinna disregarded the European Jews as part of Western culture. The attitude among many Finnish scholars, as elsewhere in Europe, was that the Jews were a "foreign element." This political and academic climate clearly has contributed to the way Jewish authors reflected the occupational profile of their communities.

In very small communities, active and charismatic leaders have a great amount of influence on the public visibility and image of the people they are chosen to represent. To Santeri Jacobsson, the reasons behind the occupational structure of the Jews were clear. It was a necessity-driven consequence of the situation of the Jews as Russian subjects in the Imperial period. In his 1951 (*Taistelu ihmisoikeuksista*) book he described the Jewish men who came to Finland as soldiers who "*had no decent professions, at most they had received some practical training in the army.*" "*Therefore,*" argued Jacobsson, "*they understandably chose the field of commerce."*[216] These few lines on the commercial activity of the Helsinki Jews have significantly affected conceptions of the economic and social history of Finnish Jews. It has been quoted in almost every written account of Jewish history in Finland. And so, the general approach has been to regard the occupational profile as a path-dependency stemming from Russian times rather than as part of a larger developments in Jewish Europe.

This work on the Jewish civil rights process has become an unquestioned authority on the aspirations of the community with a heavy influence on the way local Jewish history has been conceptualized. Jacobsson wrote about the Jewish emancipation in Sweden and Finland. The

[213] For a good overview of the debate, see Reuveni 2011, 3–8.
[214] Karp 2011, 25–31; see also Lerner 2011, 139–141.
[215] "Arvosteluja" (written by Ernst Nevanlinna), Historiallinen aikakauskirja 5, 1911, 361.
[216] Jacobsson 1951, 101.

work does not deal with the educational choices or economic patterns of the post-1917 period. Implicitly, Jacobson argues that the new generation in the early twentieth century no longer met with any prejudices in the Finnish society.[217] Jacobsson's personal views on community goals, beyond the business circles – have been taken as an expert assessment, even as scholarly fact, rather than the personal convictions of a politically active person. Less attention has been given to Jacobsson's own activity, his political positions, and how his thoughts evolved over time. Jacobsson was a Social Democrat, and shared many of the ideas of the socialist-oriented Zionist. He was arrested by the Russian police in 1910 and was deported to Siberia for almost seven years.[218]

We can compare Jacobsson's work with another written document from the 1950s, an unpublished commemorative article for the 50th anniversary celebration of the inauguration of the Helsinki synagogue, written by Jac Weinstein. Unlike Jacobsson's book this work encompasses the contemporary period covering also the interwar period and the Second World War, and even its aftermath. The text was written in a different context. Weinstein's interest has been to document what he found important in the history of the community, not to enlighten the general reading audience.[219] Nevertheless the survey can also be studied as a general description of what was found to be worth discussing and remembering as much as what he preferred to ignore.

In terms of the economic patterns, Weinstein takes for granted that it is in trading that the Jewish community largely gained a livelihood. At the beginning of his story Weinstein states that in the nineteenth century "*Jews chose to live near the places where their trade was concentrated.*"[220] Later on he mentions the economic development in the community when he briefly refers to the closure of the Narinkka marketplace in the early 1930s. In Weinstein's words it was "*a last remnant of the old Ghetto-times.*"[221] Here and there we can find references to the business-sector of the Jewish community. For example, in the section discussing Zionism, Weinstein states: "*Herzl's struggle (for a Jewish state) became a daily topic in the community. In Jewish homes, in their shops, just everywhere, Jews would meet, they read and discussed about the first Zionist conference."*[222] In contrast any references to social standing of Jews in Helsinki were absent. There was no word either of prejudices, stereotypes and antisemitism, or assimilation and social mobility in Weinstein's work. Themes related to the Second World War are mentioned briefly.[223]

Weinstein discusses at length the Zionist spirit, work, and organizations within the community. Especially since the Balfour declaration of 1917, Zionist orientation became central also in Helsinki Jewish communal life.[224] In short, the rise of Russian Zionist activism inspired Jews in Finland. In December 1906 Helsinki was at the epicenter of attention when the third Russian Zionist summit was held in the city.[225] Helsinki was chosen as the place for the summit in the aftermath of the political and social unrest in 1905, when Russia had restricted the freedom of assembly; by contrast, Finnish autonomy fostered the more

[217] Jacobsson 1951, 104–106.
[218] Jacobsson 1951, 400–401; Jakobson 1999, 176–177.
[219] Muir 2010c.
[220] Weinstein 1956, part I, 5.
[221] Weinstein 1956, Part II, 16.
[222] Weinstein 1956, Part II, 32.
[223] Weinstein 1956, Part II, 24.
[224] Weinstein 1956, Part II.
[225] Weinstein 1956, Part II, 32–33; Muir 2004, 32–33, 44; Kressel 2007. .

extensive rights for political activism. Hence the idea of "synthetic Zionism," a combination of political and practical work – *"Zionism opposes the Exile (Galut), but does not oppose the Diaspora (Golah),"* as Isaac Grünbaum put it – was called the Helsingfors program.[226]

The goals and ideas of the so-called "*Helsingfors programme*" had an impact on the cultural life in the Helsinki Jewish community. The event also pooled members of the Jewish community to some of the top leaders of the Zionist movement and future Israeli state.[227] . Rabbi Simon Federbusch was a general Zionist, *a Mizrachi*.[228] A small but active section of Zionist Revisionists were also present in Helsinki.[229] The strong Zionist orientation has presumably affected the tone which the Jewish community has given to its economic and social position. The Zionists, heedless of the different ideological and political streams within the movement, found the biased occupational structure to be a factor behind the many problems that Jews have faced.

Taimi Torvinen's book (1989) was commissioned by the Jewish community of Helsinki and is understandably quite faithful to the general Jewish narrative. Almost half of *Kadimah* describes Jewish emancipation. For Torvinen, the stress is on the struggle for Finland to keep its autonomic position and to avoid the Russian's centralizing attempts. In consequence, the motivations to leave the Jewish question unresolved was bound to the question of Finland's role and position as an autonomic territory and actually had little to do with any aspect of the "Jewish question."[230] Both Finnish autonomy and the Jewish population in Russia were threatened by the rising Slavophil nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century. In Torvinen's work, domestic writings and political actions against Jews – for example a 1908 political meeting by the Finnish merchants and manufacturers against Jewish emancipation – are dealt with as separate issues, unattached to the general advancement of the minority's social standing in Finnish society.[231]

The section in Torvinen's book on the history of the Finnish Jews, describing the Jewish economic situation in the 1920s and 1930s is titled, "*Broadening Occupational Choices.*"[232] Her conclusion also paints a picture of the kind of change that has taken place in the community as that towards a more versatile occupational structure after the acquisition of Jewish civil rights.

Torvinen's statement is based on an unpublished candidate thesis by Hillevi Rantanen. Rantanen used the student registers of the Helsinki Jewish school as source material to determine the occupational titles of pupils' parents. Comparing titles from one year to another Rantanen came to the conclusion that the occupational structure had broadened in the interwar period.[233]

In Bo Ohlström's unpublished Master's thesis from the late 1950s the author believed he was witnessing a change taking place in the community he studied. He stated that, until recently, Jewish youths were motivated to continue the family firms in the clothing business;

[226] Kressel 2007.
[227] Weinstein 1956, Part II.
[228] Muir, 2010a.
[229] Ekholm & Muir 2011. Revisionist Zionists did not believe negotiations with Britain to bring any solution for Jewish refugees around Europe, and promoted more active, even militant, solutions in order to achieve a Jewish state in Palestine.
[230] Torvinen 1989, 66–68, 86–88.
[231] Torvinen 1989, 84–86.
[232] Torvinen 1989, 112–113.
[233] Torvinen 1989, 112–113.

yet now (during the late 1950s) these young people were encouraged to find professions outside the traditional Jewish realm. "*Ten years ago there was only one advice for the young: 'Go for the business with coats, clothing is always needed, and you will earn big money there*.' Whereas today we hear with a sigh of resignation: '*What a good thing that you did not end amongst the rags. This field makes one crazy.* "'[234]

One more study dealing with Jewish living conditions after the Second World War in Finland was made by Marina Burstein in the late 1970s. Burstein conducted a study on the Jewish migration and living patterns published in 1988.[235] She describes the Post-War period (1946–1975) as a challenging one because of the rapid assimilation process:

> *Many Jews consider that the traditional division between Jews and non-Jews has disappeared. Alternative lifestyles are available for the Jewish population today. Consciousness of this, and of the necessity to choose [between the two], leads to identity conflicts, which today are evident among the Finnish Jews. Possibilities to live a "Jewish life" in Finland have become challenging. Those individuals who prioritize preserving their Jewish identity tend to move either to more lively Jewish centers in the Diaspora or to Israel.*[236]

Burstein concludes by assessing the general social standing of her community in the following manner:

> *The remaining Jewish population has, during the last years, increasingly adopted the character of a wealthy middle class with a bourgeois political foundation. During this period (1946–1975) eminent artists and academics are found in the community for the first time. However, the large majority of Jews are still bound to the business life in one way or another.*[237]

To sum up, the narrative is very clear in terms of the importance of change in what has been seen as forced entrepreneurship for the social status of the Helsinki Jews. Yet it is also controversial. Each author has suggested that the ongoing evolution was just about to take place. It seems that this change has been dated variously to 1907, to the late 1950s, or early 1960s, and even to the 1980s.

What is striking in all of these works published between 1951 and 1989 is the absence of any broader international Jewish framework. Explaining the Helsinki Jewish economic history simply in terms of restrictive Finnish policies in fact neglects the big picture. It is absolutely clear that the social and legal position of the Jews in Finland prior to 1918 dictated what Jews could and could not do. Yet, undoubtedly the context of the local Helsinki Jewish community before the Shoah was that of other European Jews as well.

There is a larger context of Jewish social and economic history with petty-trade, peddling, and involvement in the garment industry beyond Helsinki, Finland, and its policies. Indeed, the "Jewish" street in the center of Helsinki with its rows of small family-owned garment stores had its counterpart in most major European cities before the Second World War.

The economic profile of the Jewish communities in Finland is therefore by no means unique. The Jewish garment stores and manufacturers in Helsinki had their counterparts in similar Jewish businesses found also in Berlin, Paris, London, and New York. Ready-to-wear

[234] Ohlström 1960, 25, my translation, original in Swedish.
[235] Burstein 1988, 144–145, my translation, original in Swedish.
[236] Burstein 1988, 144–145, my translation, original in Swedish.
[237] Burstein 1988, 145, my translation, original in Swedish.

suits were not only the core of the Jewish business in Helsinki. It was but one link in a chain, a world-wide network of Jewish entrepreneurs, workers, manufacturers, sellers, and traders in the developing industry of garments and fashion.

The ready-to-wear clothing or "*konfektion*" of Helsinki, Viipuri, and Turku were the most typical of Jewish firms in the textile sector. Heikinkatu and the surrounding quarters in Helsinki had its counterparts all over Europe and North America. The Jewish commercial districts of Finland were small-scale versions of the *Hausvogteiplatz* in Berlin,[238] the Garment District in Manhattan,[239] and Paris,[240] known for its Jewish-owned *konfektions prêt-à-porter* and fashion houses. Similar Jewish textile retailers could be found in Stockholm, Gothenburg, or Bergen[241] for that matter.

In fact the term "*konfektion*" was so strongly associated by contemporaries with the Jews that its use was later forbidden in pursuance of the *Arisierung* policy in 1936 Germany.[242] In Helsinki, Turku, and, Viipuri citizens would most certainly have recognized stores such as the *Confection des Modes* and *Confection au Bon Marché* as Jewish.

The ready-to-wear garment industry and trade, the so-called "rag trade" was the Jewish business. Moreover, "rag trade" could provide rising living standards for immigrants. According to business historian Andrew Godley, Jews were concentrated in the so-called immigrant trades and the clothing industry dominated the immigrant economy. The clothing industry dominated the Jewish East End in London, for example.[243] Godley has estimated that the Eastern-European Jewish male came to represent as much as 70 percent of the workforce in the clothing industry in the early twentieth century.[244] By the interwar period, circa 70 percent of the so-called confectionists in Paris were Jewish.[245]

As the dominant narrative has clearly had an effect on the way Jewish history has been understood, defined, and discussed in Finland, it is important to contrast and compare the way the past has been narrated in the occupational data.

Next, I turn from these written accounts to the data provided by my sources. What, for example, were the occupations represented in the records of the congregation in 1915, 1930 and 1972? In terms of my research question, my primary interest is to see how the occupational titles follow the dominant narrative.

[238] Mosse 1987, 101; Mönninghof 2001, 85–90.
[239] Kahan 1986.
[240] Green 1997, 208–209.
[241] Sebak 2008, 92–94.
[242] Mönninghof 2001, 89.
[243] Feldman 1994, 185–196.
[244] Godley, 2001, 94.
[245] Green 1997, 208–209.

4. Social Status and Employment

In this chapter I will present the occupational and entrepreneurial profile of the Helsinki Jewish community. The occupational titles should give a simple cross section of the Helsinki Jewish community from the First World War to the early 1970s. Combining the occupational titles with data on the Jewish-owned companies, I will establish a set of descriptive statistics and compare these to the dominant narrative.

With this information, the following questions must then be addressed: What kinds of occupations were represented in the Helsinki Jewish community (for each cross-section sample year) and in what proportions? How many different occupational categories were there in the late Imperial era when the legal status of local Jews was still problematic? Did the arrival of Jewish civil rights bring changes to the occupational profile in those first fifteen years? The descriptive statistics allow us to see what kind of occupational sectors were represented, as well as what were the occupations that were underrepresented or missing?

Clothing, cleaning, and small-scale manufacturing are precisely the trades that both historically and today are occupied by ethnic minorities.[246] In the study of an urban ethnic minority, what often may formulate a minor detail in the classification of the data constitutes a central part of the research problem.

The occupational titles as coded by the Historical International Classification of Occupations (HISCO) system serve as an effective tool for organizing data on the Helsinki Jewish occupational profile. However, there are some peculiarities of the system that must be addressed and resolved for use here.[247] HISCO aims to be both flexible and sensitive. The coding offers solutions for tackling very unspecific titles, such as "a laborer" as well as too specific of titles, such as "a wage-worker doing a specific task using a certain machine."[248] Historically, many occupational titles combined elements that, in the modern statistics, are considered as separate processes. For example, producing, serving, and selling used to be inseparable tasks in pre-modern societies. Therefore, some general suggestions have been made in the HISCO scheme. For example, according to the HISCO manual "*if a title is general because the occupational activities include both production and retail, only the production activity was coded.*"[249]

HISCO allows alternative modes for coding within the existing framework, depending on the research question. Here, we may take the case of the tailor and the retailer. A minor detail in the classification of the data constitutes a central part of the research problem. In principle the HISCO code for a tailor is 79000, and tailors are thus classified as production workers (Major Group 7). Yet the tailor may work as a self-employed sub-contractor producing garments for the above-mentioned company. According to the HISCO system, the tailor could also be assigned the general code 41025: "working proprietor, conducts a business either in wholesale or retail." Both codes – 79100 for tailor and 41025 for retailer – are correct, depending on what aspect we want to emphasize.

I have not chosen this example randomly. As mentioned before, tailor was the "Jewish" occupation. The classification between artisan work and business had major consequence on

[246] Green 1997; Green 1998; Rath 2002.
[247] For the principles on how HISCO was designed, see, e.g., van Leeuven, Maas & Miles 2002, 25–30.
[248] van Leeuven, Maas & Miles 2002, 26.
[249] van Leeuven, Maas & Miles 2002, 27.

how Jews were perceived. For the Jewish socialists, like the General Union of Jewish Workers, the *Bundists*, Jews were the most proletarian tailors among all the workers. Yet, the Jewish tailors often lacked some important parts of the Marxist definitions; as self-employed artisans they owned their means of production and often ran a small business. Hence, for the nationalistic-minded, antisemitic movement Jewish tailors were just another variant of Jewish capitalists.

The coding that takes into account the entrepreneurial aspects is more relevant if the approach is ethnic enclave economies. As self-employed, the tailor is not in the general labor markets as a wage-worker. On the other hand, the general and somewhat vague term "businessman" obscures any distinction and the different resources between the different actors within their field of business. For instance, a person holding a law degree, and thus in the conservative application of HISCO coding part of the HISCO Major Group 0, may be a major shareholder in a ready-to-wear enterprise. Yet, if all the self-employed and businessmen are simply put under one code, the socio-economic distinctions *within* the co-ethnic business owners are blurred.

The exact number of lawyers and tailors in the community in a certain year has little scholarly meaning as such. However, with a very small data set, the outcome is sensitive to even the smallest changes in coding. For the purposes here, it becomes necessary to make distinctions. I have solved this problem by giving the data on occupational titles a HISCO code and an additional marker on the entrepreneurial status. First, I look at the *job classification* by taking the occupational titles as they appear in the archival records using the general principles of the HISCO scheme. In chapter 5, I will cross-reference the information on Jewish companies with the occupational data. This way I can estimate the level of entrepreneurship in the community.

Over a long period of time, the urban occupational information becomes more detailed reflecting the development of formal education, implementation of tailorism, and the professionalization of work in Finnish society.[250] When HISCO codes are applied, my material sources and research yield 50 different coded titles in the 1915 cross-section year.[251] In 1930 there are ten more.[252] By 1972, the number of different occupational titles has almost doubled from that of the 1915 cohort to a total of 98 different titles.[253] For the sake of comparison between the different cross-section years, I have preferred to use the HISCO major groups. However, in terms of the social boundaries we should consider whether the "new" titles in each cohort truly represent new occupations, or are simply more detailed descriptions of the same business and work as in previous cohorts.

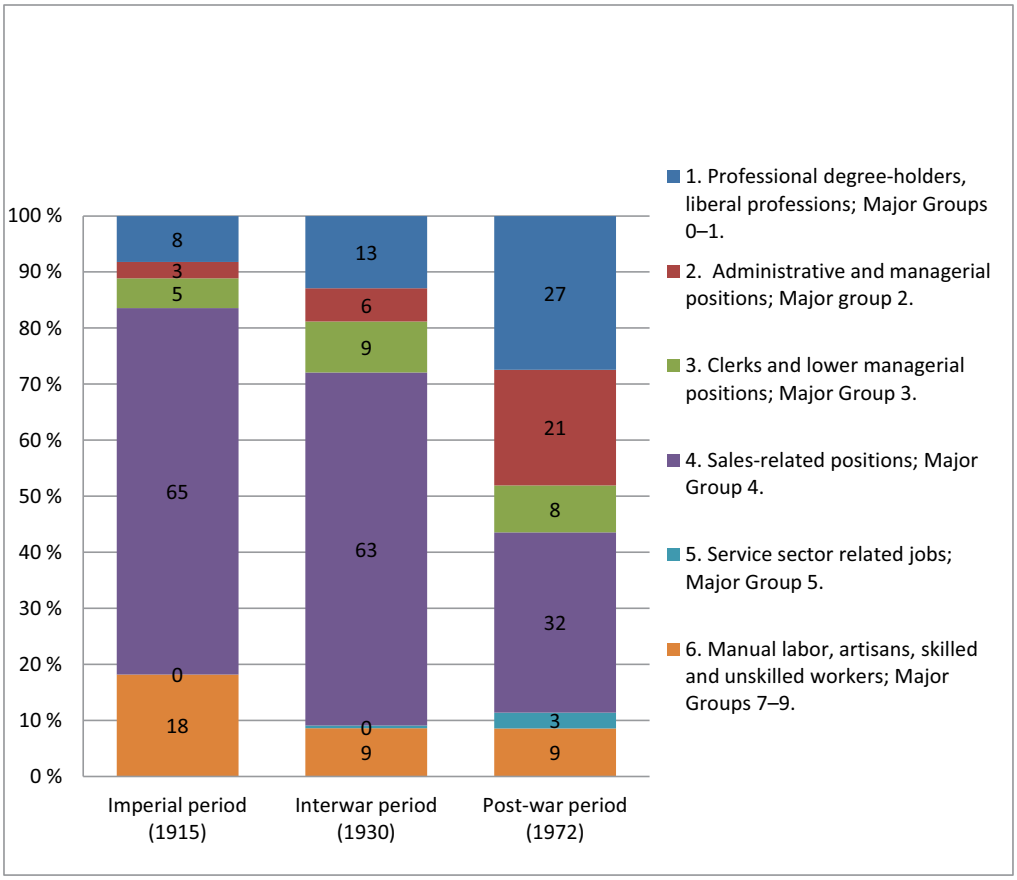
[250] Fellman 2001, 7.
[251] Appendix, cross-section 1915.
[252] Appendix, cross-section 1930.
[253] Appendix, cross-section 1972.

4.1 Occupational Structure: Job Classification

According to the dominant narrative in the literature on Finnish Jews, almost all Jews were engaged in trades in 1915, most of them as vendors in the Narinkka marketplace and in the small shops around Heikinkatu. One would presuppose the data from the cross-section sample years of 1915, 1930, and 1972 to bear this story out.

Figure 1 visualizes the shares of occupational profiles of the community in 1915, 1930, and 1972 when the occupational titles have been given in the archival records, classified according to the HISCO major group scheme.

Figure 1. *The occupational profile of the Helsinki Jewish congregation in 1915, 1930, and 1972 on the basis of the HISCO major group scheme.*



Sources: *See Table 2 on page 39 and the Appendix.*

At first glance, the data would seem to support the dominant narrative. The figure shows quite clearly that the occupational profile was centered on sales-related trades in the first half of the twentieth century, when the absolute majority of (economically active) community members had an occupational title directly related to trade, either as shop assistants or as

merchants. The figure also demonstrates an increasing versatility in the occupational profile over time, as suspected.

Upon closer inspection of the data, the dominant narrative of the Jewish occupational structure seems too monolithic for the nuances revealed and the questions that arise. Already in 1915, there is some variety in the occupational titles. Figure 1 shows quite clearly that not all Jews outside the military service would have gained their livelihood as Narinkka vendors and in the small surrounding shops. Even if 65% were directly involved in business in 1915, 35% were not. In fact, Helsinki Jews had occupational titles of the liberal professions (9%), managerial work (3%), clerical positions (5%), and working-class jobs (18%). In this matter, not surprisingly, collective memory and conceptions prove to be over-simplified.

A quick comparison of the shares of Professional degree-holders and liberal professions (Major Groups 0–1) in Figure 1 seems to indicate a significant rise in the educational level of the congregation. Occupations belonging to liberal professions show an increase of 5% between 1915 and 1930 (from 8 % to 13 %), and 14% from 1930 to 1972 (from 13 to 27%). By 1972, fully 27% of the occupational titles belong to the Major Groups 0 and 1. Meanwhile the share of working-class jobs diminished in the years after civil rights were enacted. The interesting question again is whether these were manufacturing workers or rather self-employed tailors producing for the co-Jewish merchants? This question was considered important by the Jewish Zionists, Socialists, and Liberals alike. It was a core issue in the economic antisemitism. Similarly, in today's ethnic studies the ethnic entrepreneurship is often taken as a key to understanding the dynamics of ethnic minority and immigrant communities.

The most significant shift from 1930 to 1972 took place in the group of administrative and managerial workers. Without knowing their labor-market position or entrepreneurial status, it is difficult to give a detailed interpretation of this shift. Interpretation is further complicated when taking into account one major difference between the three cohorts: while the first two cross-section years include the occupational title "narinkka merchant," an open-market vendor, there is no such trade recorded in the 1972 cohort. The major groups of HISCO should not be strictly interpreted as a hierarchical system. It is clear, however, that the university professors, officers, and judges of the Major Group 0 would enjoy more prestige, economic, social, and cultural power than the unskilled day laborers of the last occupational micro-unit in the HISCO occupational scheme. I will continue by analyzing in more detail what are the professions, trades and jobs that constitute the major groups in Figure 1.

4.2 The Liberal Professions

During a relatively short period, European Jews shifted from their classical occupations in trade and service related positions into the professionals, technical and related workers, administrative and managerial workers, and clerks and related workers. That the sons and daughters of petty traders pursued a career in the liberal professions is a constant theme in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of European Jews. According to Marion Kaplan, German Jews in the late nineteenth century knew that they had not become part of the German Volk with a Germanic soul and national similarity to the ancient German culture. What Jews could achieve was a bourgeois lifestyle.[254] Jews generally were more urban, more literate, and more international than their non-Jewish counterparts in Germany and Central and Eastern Europe. In Kaplan's words, "*The German Jewish capitalist bourgeoisie actually 'arrived' shortly before its German counterpart. Thus commercially successful, upwardly mobile Jews were there, waiting to be absorbed into a newly forming German capitalist bourgeoisie (...)*."[255]

Yuri Slezkine has described how the same process took place in Central and Central Eastern Europe. The Jews did not become middleclass, because for most parts of central Europe they were the middle class.[256] In Russia, two Jewish realities developed side by side. The Jewish community within the Russian borders was the largest in the world. A majority of Russian Jews lived within the borders of the Jewish Pale of Settlement under a discriminative legislation that the greater part of Europe had belonged to since the ancient regime. Yet the complicated social system with various social categories and quotas enabled a significant Russian Jewish intelligentsia.[257]

Many of the standard works covering the history of the Helsinki Jews mention that Dr. Isak Pergament was the first Finnish Jew to receive a university education in 1911. This should by no means be interpreted that he was the first Jewish doctor in the country. In Figure 1 (below on page 67) we could see that 8% of the Jews living in late-Imperial Helsinki had a degree or studies from the university. As discussed in Chapter 3, the careers requiring a degree were open to Jews in Imperial Russia from the 1860s onward, if only under limited quotas.

The higher level of education required for these professions, usually a university degree, make this a valuable data set when examining the socio-economic mobility of an ethnic minority group over time. Early all the liberal professions included by HISCO Major Groups 0 and 1 were represented in the Helsinki Jewish community, as Table 5 will show.

[254] Kaplan 1991, 7.
[255] Kaplan 1991, 7.
[256] Slezkine 2004, 51, 67–70, 127.
[257] Nathans 2002.

Table 5 *The Liberal professions in the cross-section year data.*

		1915		1930		1972	
HISCO codes	**Occupational descriptions**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
02000-02700	Architects, Engineers and related	3	0.9	7	1.7	22	4.7
3200	Pilots, Aircraft	–	–	2	0.5	–	–
05000-05300	Biologists, Agronomists	–	–	1	0.2	–	–
06100-06710	Medical, dental, Veterinary professions	5	1.5	13	3.1	23	4.9
07000-07900	Nurses in Medical, Dental, Veterinary fields	4	1.2	6	1.4	13	2.8
08000-08110	Mathematical and Statistical Scientists	–	–	–	–	1	0.2
09000-09100	Economists	–	–	–	–	8	1.7
11000	Accountants	–	–	1	0.2	2	0.4
12000	Lawyers	–	–	1	0.2	13	2.8
13000	Teachers, also University Professors	3	0.9	7	1.7	10	2.2
14000	Religious Authorities	2	0.6	1	0.2	–	–
15000	Authors, Journalists	1	0.3	2	0.5	7	1.5
16000	Sculptors, Paitners, Artists, Photographers	–	–	1	0.2	10	2.2
17000	Composers and performing musicians	10	2.9	13	3.1	14	3.0
18000	(Athletes, Sportsmen)	–	–	–	–	–	–
19000	Other Professional workers		0.0		0.0	4	0.9
	Subtotal Major Group of liberal professions	**28**	**8.2**	**55**	**13.1**	**127**	**27.3**
	Subtotal other Major Groups	314	91.8	364	86.9	338	72.7
	Grand total	342	100.0	419	100.0	465	100.0

Sources: *Appendix, HISCO Major Groups 02000–19000.*

The first academic degrees in Finland received by Jews were from the University of Helsinki 1913–1915. As Santeri Jacobsson has commented, many young Jews preferred engineering or a similar practical direction. When the congregation donated scholarships for young Jewish students there was but one condition, "*not to take the commercial track.*"[258]

Economic historian Rita Bredefeldt, a daughter of the composer Erna Tauro and the granddaughter of "the first Finnish-Jewish medical doctor, Isak Pergament," has described the atmosphere of her childhood in Helsinki in the 1950s as one of constant aspiration to *Kulturbildung*.[259]

However, later in their lives most Jews were, in fact, engaged in business, despite the various interests and studies in their youth. A closer look at the careers of some of those holding diplomas gives a consistent view of the employment status of Jews in Helsinki in the interwar period. Samuel Rubinstein, born in 1886 took an exam in Germanic philology at the University of Helsinki in 1914, after which he continued studies in Germany and France. He worked as a teacher in an elite *Svenska normallyceum* and at the Helsinki Jewish school. He

[258] Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan vuosikertomus 1930 (Annual report of the Helsinki Jewish congregation 1930) file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland.
[259] Bredefeldt 2008, 14, 33.

was engaged as the conductor of the Jewish Choir Association.[260] His obituary however recalls that Rubinstein "*later went into business.*"[261] This is a phrase repeated in local announcements and notices year after year in various contexts. A notice of the 70th anniversary of a businessman born in 1877 relates: "*at a young age he devoted himself to music but eventually went into business*."[262] According to the 50th anniversary announcement of another man: "*He studied at the Academy of Music in St. Petersburg. He then followed the commercial path.*"[263] An obituary of a man born in Helsinki in 1905 relates that he *"... took his doctor's examination in Zürich where he studied after his graduation from Svenska Lyceum. Since he returned to the home country he has devoted himself to business, especially in the textile division."*

Compared to the number of shopkeepers, businessmen, and their assistants, the group of academic degree-holders is small but in many ways they are the key to studying ethnic boundaries because they typically represent professions where one can hold a position in the public sector and/or maintain a practice of his/her own. Of the Jews, many had private practices. Private practices were commonplace, however, and do not tell much about the labor market situation of the Helsinki Jews. The alumni books of *Finland's Doctors* give the impression that at least some Jewish medical doctors worked in public hospitals.[264]

Clearly, there was a discrepancy between the rise in education and the opportunity to pursue a career in the liberal professions. Why did so many educated Jews end up "back in the business"? There is a lack of research on the latent, everyday forms of antisemitism at the different levels of Finnish society. Fragmental accounts tell about direct or indirect discrimination against the Jews in the years between the World Wars, but there are only a few studies on the subject.[265] Jews could perhaps study at the university, but in interwar Finland, they could not make a career at the university. Scholar of Jewish studies Simo Muir has demonstrated how anti-Jewish sentiments led to the rejection of Israel-Jacob Schur's doctoral dissertation at the University of Helsinki in 1937. A year later, Schur submitted a new version of his study to the Åbo Akademi University, but this time he was not even granted the right to defend his work.[266] Schur was not the only Jew whose research career came to a halt in Finland after 1933. Mauno Vannas, the professor of ophthalmology at the University of Helsinki, was a leader of a small National Socialist organization *Suomen Valtakunnanliitto.* Jewish Ph.D. students were expelled from his research group.[267]

As mentioned before, study and careers requiring a degree were open to Jews, if in limited quotas, in Imperial Russia. By 1915, there were already Jewish doctors and engineers practicing their professions in Helsinki, such as medical doctor Pergament. Yet in many cases their employer was the Imperial Russian military, not the Finnish government. This is an aspect either overlooked or consciously ignored by the literature written during the Cold War period, a time when Finland had to carefully balance its political profile between East and

[260] Muir 2006, 87.
[261] HBL 19 March 1932, Brage's press clipping archives, in Swedish.
[262] "70 år fyller…"HBL, 14 February 1947 Brage's press clipping archives, in Swedish.
[263] "50 år", HBL, Brage's press clipping archives, in Swedish.
[264] Suomen lääkärit 1946, see the Appendix.
[265] Muir 2013.
[266] Both cases are analyzed in Muir's article "Rejection of Israel-Jacob Schur's PhD Dissertation at the University of Helsinki (1937) and Åbo Akademi University (1938)." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 2/2009, pp. 135–161.
[267] Kuparinen 2008, 283–285; Skurnik 2013, 325–327.

West. By the same token, a career at the university or in the public sector seems to have been, in practice, blocked for Jews right up until the Second World War.

In the field of music and theater, the situation was more complex. To what extent and under what circumstances Jewish musicians encountered racism in interwar Finland is up for debate.[268] However, it is notable that such a debate is even possible because musicians and other artists seem to be among the few professional careers Jews had the opportunity to pursue in interwar Finland.

The brothers Moses and Simon Pergament studied in the Academy of Music in St. Petersburg. Moses Pergament first played in the Helsinki Philharmonic (1913–1917) and later made a career as a composer and music critic in Sweden.[269] His brother Simon Pergament worked as a conductor for the Kiel Opera in Northern Germany (1923–1925) and in The Hague (1926–1927). In his later days he also worked at the National Opera of Finland.[270] Matti Rubinstein was conductor of the *Stora theatern* in Gothenburg and *Oscars theatern* in Stockholm. Violist Naum Levi played in the Helsinki City Orchestra from 1929.

To sum up, in the light of this material, the educational level in the Helsinki Jewish congregation increased over the years. An even more significant change, however, took place in what one could do with such a degree as a Jew when compared with other educated people in the Helsinki Jewish congregation between 1915 and 1972.

[268] Forsman 2012.
[269] Rosengren 2007.
[270] Dahlström, 1997.

4.3 Administrative, Managerial, and Clerical Positions

The data in Figure one (on page 67) shows that administrative and managerial positions on the one hand, and clerks and lower managerial positions on the other hand, had increased between the interwar period and the post-war era. The group of Adminstrative and (higher) managerial position (HISCO Major Group 2) is especially notable for the almost fourfold increase between 1930 and 1972. Such a significant statistical change begs the following questions: What did this change actually mean in the community? And on what terms did it take place? Key to this inquiry is whether the managerial positions were within Jewish-owned companies or in the public sector.

The manager-owners of the larger, more established businesses belong to this major group. If an employed wage-worker has a manager position with significant responsibility in the company, he is also included in this group.

Major Group 3 is dedicated to *"clerks and related workers,*" as indicated in Figure 1. For the wage-work in public sector, HISCO scheme classifies administrators with responsibility to Major Group 2, and employees with performing duties to Major Group 3. In my data, however, most clerks seem to have been employed in the commercial sector. Some of the clerks in the cross-section year of 1930 are said to be holders of procuration in the company, only to later become the owner-managers.[271] Further complicating matters is the problem of distinguishing between paid managers and business-owners.[272] In 1915 there were five paid managers. This indicates again that the situation in 1915 was more complicated than previously assumed in the literature so far.

The difference is not so dramatic in numbers but a closer comparison between occupational titles in 1930 and 1972 tell about one significant change: In the last cohort, there are members of the Helsinki Jewish community in high positions in the public sector.[273] Diplomat Max Jakobson's career, as Finland's ambassador at the United Nations, and a candidate for the post of UN Secretary-General in 1971 is noteworthy.[274]

The distinction between different entrepreneurs is a case in point. I have applied to HISCO Major Group 2 directors and manager-owners of bigger business. Occupational titles such as 'businessman' and 'merchant' are coded to HISCO Major Group 4, grouping them with "sales-related positions."

[271] For example, Wiener Dam Confection A. Rung & Co., established in 1900, was authorized sales assistant Benzion Skurnik to represent the company, TR 11.559. Skurnik later became an entrepreneur himself, Skurnik 2013.

[272] For this distinction, see Fellman 2000.

[273] See the Appendix.

[274] Jakobson was the nephew of civil rights activitst Santeri Jacobsson. Jakobson's mother Helmi Jakobson, née Virtanen, was the first Finnish woman who converted to Judaism.

4.4 Sales-Related Positions

Both in 1915 and in 1930, most Jews in the Helsinki congregation were employed in sales, trade and business.

Table 6 *The Sales-related Occupational Titles in the cross-section year data.*

HISCO codes	Occupational titles	1915		1930		1972	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
	Sales related						
41025-41030	Merchants and "businessmen"	49	14.3	132	31.5	73	15.7
42220-43200	Sales representatives	12	3.5	17	4.1	1	0.2
45130	Sales assistants	107	31.3	87	20.8	43	9.2
45220	Narinkka vendors	56	16.4	32	7.6	–	–
	Subtotal (Sales related)	224	65.5	268	64.0	117	25.2
	Managerial in the commercial sector						
21110	Managers and "directors"	7	2.0	17	4.1	76	16.3
21220	Production managers	2	0.6	3	0.7	–	–
	Subtotal (Managers)	9	2.6	20	4.8	76	16.3
41025-30; 21110	**Subtotal "Businessmen" and Directors**	**56**	**16.4**	**149**	**35.6**	**149**	**32.0**
	Subtotal other occupations	286	83.6	270	64.4	316	68.0
	Grand total	**342**	**100.0**	**419**	**100.0**	**465**	**100.0**

Sources: *The three cross-section year data, See table 2, and appendix HISCO major groups 21000– 45 3200.*

As Table 6 shows, while the share of merchants and entrepreneurs (both coded here as 41025) increased during the fifteen years after civil rights, and by 1972 it had returned close to the level where it had been before (14.3 % in 1915; 31.5 % in 1930; 15.7 % in 1972). However, if we add the directors and managers (here coded as 21110) into the analysis, the result shows much less of a change. If the managers in 1972 are assumed to be owner-managers, then the share of "businessmen" is rather stable both in 1930 and in 1972 (35.6 % in 1930; 32 % in 1972).

As shown in this Table, entrepreneurs and sales assistants were the most prevalent titles in all three cohorts. While six out of ten Jews were directly employed in trade and business, both in 1915 and 1930, by 1972 six out of ten had occupational titles that did not belong to "sales-related positions" of HISCO Major Group 4. One can of course argue that the third most common occupational title in 1930, the Narinkka merchants, is misleading because the marketplace was closed in 1931. The occupational titles thus do not reveal the total entrepreneurial level of the community, because it is likely that many of the tailors and furriers, although categorized as artisans (Major Group 7) in the tables above, were in fact subcontracted and self-employed.

To what extent were the Jewish wage earners, who were employed by businesses in general, also employed by Jewish businesses? It is evident that some of the wage earners may have found a job in the general labor market, yet as I will show in chapters 6 to 8, most of the Jewish workers were probably employed by Jewish companies in the pre-Second World War period.

4.5 Working-Class Jobs

The rise of the Jewish intelligentsia and bourgeois is one part of the history of the Jews of Europe. The other part, bigger in absolute numbers, was that of the Jewish working class, "the poorest and most alien of all the proletariats" as the slogan of the Bundists stated. Tailor was the Jewish occupation par excellence. As Nancy L. Green has provokingly suggested for poor Eastern European immigrants, the role of tailor was similar to that of prostitute – the only available choice.[275] Tailoring was, however, an occupation that seems to have guaranteed jobs for practically all skilled Jewish workers that migrated to New York during those years.[276]

Most of the Helsinki Jewish occupations categorized as HISCO Major Group 7 were artisans, mainly tailors and furriers. Because most of these were tailors, often with a sub-contracted position to their co-ethnic entrepreneurs, the Jewish workers remained an anomaly to the working class.[277] For the Jewish working class the tailors belonged to the category "*entrepreneurial proletariat.*" The same phenomenon, ethnic entrepreneurship as "*Lumpenproletariat,"* is recognized in literature on present-day ethnic entrepreneurship.[278] According to Jimy Sanders, "*the distinction between entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial self-employment is always complicated but it is especially difficult in the case of ethnic entrepreneurship.*"[279]

However, the data of 1915 also included such jobs as filers, mechanics, turners, and carpenters. It is possible that some of these worked for the Russian military. The fluctuation of this small group of Jewish men is high and it is possible that they were only stationed in Helsinki during the First World War and never even considered themselves as part of the local Jewish community.

[275] Green 1998, 4.
[276] Kahan 1986.
[277] Green 1998, Feldman 1994, 196.
[278] Rath 2000, 7.
[279] Sanders 2002, 340.

4.6 Unrepresented and Under-Represented Occupations

In a completely urban community, such as that which the Helsinki Jews inhabited, one of the major groups in the HISCO scheme is completely irrelevant, Major Group 6: *"agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fisherman and hunters*." There were no Jews engaged in these occupations.

What may seem obvious and logical actually had major implications for the social position of the community. After religion, there was perhaps no greater contrast between gentile and Jew in Finland than this: an absolute majority of the people in Finland engaged in primary production; not a single Jew did so.

It is important here to remember the work restrictions in place for so long. By law, Jews were not allowed such jobs. Furthermore, as Rita Bredefeldt has noted, the trend, for Jew and gentile alike, was towards urbanization so it is quite natural that Jews worked in urban trades.[280]

Major Group 5, "service workers," is notably under-represented in the community. According to the HISCO scheme, the Jewish military personnel in the Imperial era would be classified as part of the service sector.[281] The Jewish soldiers were, as noted in chapter 2, counted as military personnel. Among the non-military Helsinki Jewish population, hardly anyone worked as cleaners, launderers, barbers, maids, or the like. There is a record, in 1930, of one domestic helper, a young woman born in 1901.[282] It is, however, possible that some of the young Jewish women classified here as sales assistants, were in fact employed as domestic helpers by the wealthier community members.

There seems to be a strong preference for independent positions in the community. In the occupational grouping of 1972, the occupational titles of hairdresser, manicurist, and beautician are found. In almost all cases the individuals ran their own small business, again indicating a strong preference for self-employment rather than service work in someone else's business. Bart Van de Putte and Andrew Miles have defined the concept of social power as "*a potential to influence one's destiny – or* '*life chances*' *– through control of scarce resources.*"[283] There was clearly a strong preference for independent positions in the Helsinki Jewish community. In the next chapter, I will analyze the entrepreneurial activity in the community.

[280] Bredefeldt 2008, 58.
[281] In the HISCO classification, soldiers and under-officers are classified as "protective service workers."
[282] See the Appendix (1930).
[283] van de Putte & Miles, 2005.

5. Level of Entrepreneurial Activity

Having a business in Finland is public information and there are a variety of records at the researcher's disposal. To examine further the entrepreneurial activity of the Helsinki Jewish community it is necessary to quantify, which means one must first resolve the matter of the artisans. As discussed above, artisans, typically considered part of the working class, might be considered entrepreneurs. Artisans who work as employees would simply be categorized by the HISCO scheme as part of the Major Group 7 working class. However, the tailors, furriers, and hairdressers found in the community sometimes sub-contracted their work, either to co-ethnic entrepreneurs or self-employed. Self-employed means, the person employs him-/herself, but does not have any employees. Entrepreneurs refer to something bigger, either the business is bigger but, most often, it also involves the idea that there are employees. Furthermore, the self-employed artisan might own his/her own separate business. Thus, the artisan might be considered a manager-owner, that is, an entrepreneur. Cross-checking the names and job titles previously collected with the public business records, it is possible to determine which of the tailors, furriers and hairdressers had a registered business and may therefore be counted as entrepreneurs in this discussion.

Trade registers, taxation books of the congregations, business directories, and studies made by the City of Helsinki all contain information on business and entrepreneurship from different aspects. By collecting a parallel data series from companies owned by the community-members one should be able to cross-reference the information with the occupational data.

Trade registers include such information as the date of registration, purpose of the business, and organizational form of the firm.[284] The trade registers should also include a report of dissolution of a company, yet this information is far from complete. Of those companies in the registers which were dissolved, up to 45% never formally announced their dissolution. It is therefore uncertain for what period these companies were in operation.

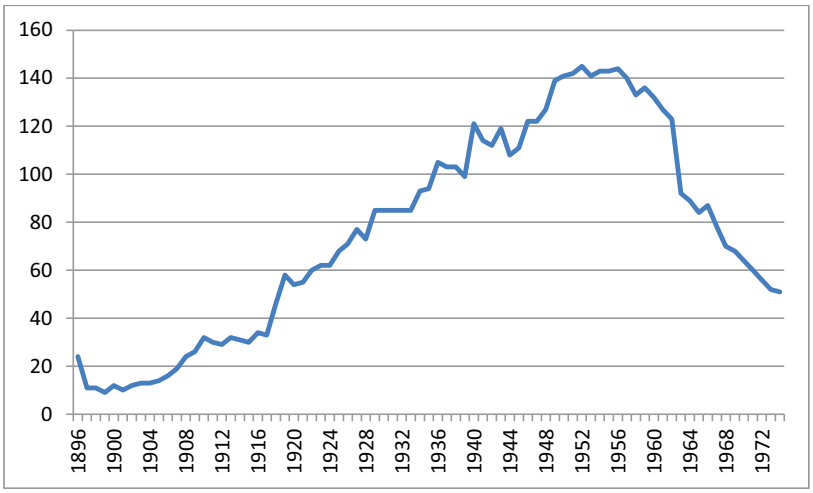
In the trade registers, an announcement of a dissolving business often refers either to bankruptcy or change of ownership. In both cases it is quite common that the company actually continued to operate under a new registration number and from a legal perspective as a new firm. When the firms became second-generation businesses, they appeared in the trade registers as completely new firms. In such cases, I have linked the subsequent companies under one name in the panel series.

To determine how many years the registered companies were in business I have cross-referenced the congregation taxation lists on Helsinki Jewish shareholding companies with the trade registers. In the small community, the taxation lists were quite informal and often inaccurate. Taxation lists may refer to a firm that has been nominally dissolved for three decades, and that formally functions under a new name.

By combining these different sources, I have been able to arrange the individual companies in chronological order according to their start-up dates and have made an estimation of how many years each company was in operation. The resulting database helps estimate the number of Jewish companies that are active in any given year between 1896 and 1970, as represented here in Figure 2.

[284] The registration number is ordinal, and the firms can be set in chronological order according to the start-up time.

Figure 2. *The number of Jewish companies operating in Helsinki in chronological order between 1896 and 1970.*



Sources: *Katka PRH Trade registers, Helsinki Jewish taxation books, Business directories, Fragmentary advertisement in publications found in the archives of the Helsinki Jewish community and articles found in Brages press klipp arkiv. Taksoituslautakunta ("The Helsinki Jewish congregation taxation book for 1972"), veroluettelot, file 244, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA*.

According to Figure 2, the rate of entrepreneurship did not diminish after the introduction of civil rights. Instead, it kept growing in the 1920s when new firms were constantly starting up, more frequently than old ones were dissolving. During the years of the Great Depression, there seems to have been some stabilization in the number of Jewish-owned firms. The sudden spike and fluctuation of activity during the years of the Second World War (1939–1944) reflect the phases of the war in Finland. What is most striking, however, is how Figure 2 illustrates an almost constant increase in the number of firms up until the 1950s. Only in the mid-1950s did this trend change and the number of Jewish-owned enterprises decline.

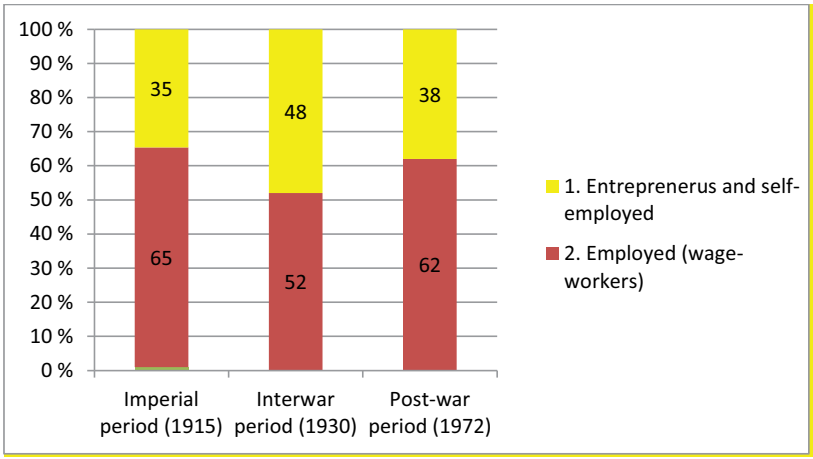
To what extent does the data reflect actual changes in the Helsinki Jewish business-orientation? The data on the 1960s and 1970s must be viewed with a critical eye. It is possible that the number of companies is underrepresented here. From the end of the Second World War until the early 1960s there were over 120 active companies. Then, in just five years, that number dropped to the 1920s' levels. Immediately suspect, of course, are the demographic changes in the community. Following the Second World War, the Jewish population in Helsinki grew until it began to decline with the emigrations to Israel in the late 1960s. It is reasonable to think that the curve shown in Figure 2 would be related to these population shifts. However, company data is not always a reflection of demographic changes. One owner may own several companies. Similarly, one company may have several shareholders. Company data should be compared to similar, non-Jewish firms. Fluctuations of this sort may well represent the impact of general changes in legislation, such as the taxation rates. The non-Jewish corresponding businesses in Helsinki would be the only relevant comparison. Most studies, however, are nation-wide inquiries. While changes in the occupational profile are expected to be observed over time, it is also necessary to bring this information to bear in various contexts. Profiles should be compared to those of the general population of Finland, that of Helsinki, and more specifically to the Helsinki entrepreneurial population.

Nonetheless, if one knows where to look and what to look for, one discovers that the Helsinki street scene of the 1950s and 1960s did not differ too much from that of the 1920s and 1930s in one important respect: the small retail stores. The rows of small Jewish-owned garment and ready-to-wear stores were a feature of the commercial streets even into the 1960s and the early 1970s.

5.1 Job Classification: Self-Employment

When the occupational data (as shown in Figure 1) is cross-referenced with the company data (Figure 2) we can estimate the rate of self-employment in the community for each of the cross-section years, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. *The share of entrepreneurs and self-employed vs. wage-workers in the Helsinki Jewish community in 1915, 1930, and 1972.*



Sources: *Katka PRH Trade registers, Helsinki Jewish taxation books, Business directories, Fragmentary advertisement in publications found in the archives of the Helsinki Jewish community and articles found in Brages press klipp arkiv. See also Table 2 on page 39.*

Entrepreneurship and self-employment increased from 1915 to 1930. It then decreased by the early 1970s, returning to approximately the same level as in 1915. Regardless of how one interprets the changes in the community in the late 1960s and early 1970s, one conclusion is certain: self-employment is a significant and somewhat steady trend throughout the years. The occupational profile shifts. The occupational titles are increasingly diverse. The number of Jewish-owned companies changes. Nevertheless, when one looks beyond this data and analyzes how many individuals were self-employed – that is, not in the labor markets – there is a tendency toward independence, with no remarkable change over the years. When one does consider the changes in laws and regulations, politics, ideology, and identity that the Helsinki Jewish community experienced over the decades covered by this study, even the 13% variation in self-employment seems lacking in drama.

The second conclusion one can draw from the data is that, for any closer analyses, the only relevant comparison would be non-Jewish firms in Helsinki with a similar profile. In order to do so, should one know what the Jewish firms were like? With this data, the only relevant context is that of other similar businesses in Helsinki. For further analysis of entrepreneurship, self-employment, and the occupational profile of the Helsinki Jewish community, proper context is required. One ought to compare it with non-Jewish firms in Helsinki that share a similar profile. In order to make any comparisons, it would help to know a little more about what the Jewish firms were like.

5.2 Clusters of Small, Family-owned Businesses (in the "Rag Trade")

What did a Helsinki Jewish business look like? There was great variety in size, lifespan and success of the firms. Some operated for less than six months, while others, like Moses Skurnik's *Oy Textile Ab* were in business for 80 years. There were tiny shops scarcely providing a living for the owners, and successful fashion houses. Companies ranged from traditional second-hand shops to a department store called Pukeva – a symbol of post-war recovery, modern innovation, and the blowing "west winds". Some operated for a few months, others for decades. As different as one company might be from the next, most shared a certain pattern: the Helsinki Jewish companies were usually small, almost exclusively family-owned, and mostly related to the so-called "rag trade," the traditional "Jewish" business of ready-to-wear clothing.

As discussed in chapter 2, some of the top entrepreneurs and economic leaders were known to have a Jewish family background and perhaps even had a Jewish upbringing. However, in this study, they are not identified with the Helsinki Jewish community, much less its congregation, since they had converted to the Lutheran faith before moving to Finland.

A thorough review of the job descriptions, university degrees, ownership information, and other relevant, available material proves there were no financial or industrial tycoons in the Helsinki Jewish community. The Helsinki bourgeois had their roots in Russia (such as the owners of the Sinebrykoff Brewery), in the Baltics or in Germany (such as the owners of Fazer's Bakery, Paulig's coffee roasting factory, and the Stockmann department store). The Helsinki German congregation would make an interesting parallel example of ethnic entrepreneurship and family networks. [285] Economic historian Susanna Fellman has investigated the social background and careers of the managers of the biggest Finnish industrial enterprises from 1900 to 1975.[286] Whether in forestry, the paper mills, the machine industry, or at the electrical power plants, there were no Jewish owners or managers to be found among the most significant of Finnish industries and larger enterprises.

If there is one common denominator among these almost 700 companies, it is the form of ownership: most of the companies were family-owned.[287] In each decade there were a few bigger company names; however, the majority of the companies were small-sized.

As for the other common characteristic, "*shmate*" or "*trjapke,*" as the Jews modestly referred to their so-called "rag trade," encompassed the garment, textile, and fur industries and included importation, distribution, trade, manufacture, repair, and sales. Just as it is often difficult to categorize the occupational titles, defining the category of a business can be complicated, especially in the "rag trade." Such a category constituted a broader concept in reference to the range of businesses from textile retail and wholesale, to garment manufacture, furs, and accessories.

The boundaries between manufacturing, retail, and wholesale were often indistinguishable. A large survey of companies in Helsinki in 1959 noted that it was often

[285] Forsén 2012.
[286] Fellman 2000; Fellman 2001, 6–7.
[287] Defined as firms in which "a family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert a control over strategy and is involved in top management positions," Colli & Rose 2007, 194.

impossible to distinguish trade from manufacturing in the garment and ready-to-wear business.[288] Nevertheless, it is safe to say that "*shmate*" remained important to the community and the majority of Jewish companies were in the "*textile division.*"

The Helsinki Jewish community can provide examples of how business networks with complicated systems of sub-contracting functioned. The responsibilities of these family businesses were varied and often overlapped. The earliest examples of Jewish businesses included the traditional ateliers and tailor stores.[289]

There were wholesalers who imported textiles and clothes.[290] There were manufacturers who produced and sold ready-to-wear,[291] hats,[292] leather products and furs.[293] Some of these manufacturers operated in the export sector.[294] There were retailers who sold textiles, ready-to-wear, and outfits.[295] There were specialty retail stores specializing in men's suits,[296] women's wear,[297] underwear,[298] clothes for children,[299] hats and accessories,[300] and textile

[288] Laaksonen 1962, 238, 241.

[289] Skrädderiverkstad (1919); Beklädnads och manufaktur (1919); Skrädderiaffär (1919); I.E. Seligsons Skräddarietablissment (1921); Oy City-Textil Ab (1925); A & H Siedler (1931); Ch. Gottliebs damskrädderi (1940), and Leninkitaide (1946).

[290] Examples on wholsesalers importing textiles and clothes: Oy Textile Ab (1913); B Blaugrund (1918); Moses Rung (1925); Damkonfektion import Reisel-Rosa (1929); T:mi F:ma M Pergament (1932); B Salutskij (1935); B Skurnik (1935); M Pergament OY (1935); Tukkuliike Kangas ja Turkis (1940); Kangasyhtymä Davidkin (1949).

[291] Examples on ready-to-wear manufacturers: M Pergament & B Linder (1908); O. Y. Nenäliina- ja esiliinatehdas Elka (1930); Oy Mallio (1930); Muoti-Tuote OY (1940); Kappatehdas Drisin (1955).

[292] Examples on hat manufacturers: Katsman & keffkowitsch (1896); Uusi Kansallislakkitehdas (1904); Kansallis-Lakkitehdas (1920); Helsingin Lakki- ja olkaintehdas (1920); Helsingin Lakki- ja nahkatavaraliike (1922).

[293] Examples on fur manufacturers and retailers: Nya Hatt- och Pälsvaruaffären (1913); ; R Klass Päls och Beklädnadsaffär (1917); Hatt- och Pälsaffär David Mirmovitsch (1917); Lakki- ja Turkistavaraliike (1930); Turkisvarasto Pälslagert (1939); O/Y Turkkuri Figur (1940); Kappa-Ateljer Furman (1941); Turkisliike Nutriette (1946); Päällysvaate I Maisenstein (1947); E Franck (1947); Turkisliike Pennsylvania (1948); Katro-Turkis OY (1950); Tyyli-Turkki (1951); Turkis Sali Lea (1951) .

[294] Examples on export sector: Oy Grünstein Ab (1918); A. J. Imjack (1924) Osakeyhtiö.

[295] Examples on ready-to-wear retail: Esplanad Bazaren (1896); S Strascheffskys Confektinos affär (1910); Wiener Herr- Dam- och barn beklädnadsaffär (1914); Au Bon Marche (1918); H Engel (1918); Magasin Central (1922);), I Segal (1933), Kappa-keskus (1933), later Oy Pukeva Ab; Nordiska Beklädnadsaffären Pohjoismainen vaatetus (1935); Laatupusero (1940);, Sportex (1950); Manhattan (1951); Erikoisvilla-Specialylle (1951); Citykuosi (1953); Muotiliike Gi-Bi (1963); A-malli (1963).

[296] Suomen sotilaspukimo – Finska militärekipering (1902); Oy Pukimo Magazin Central (1932); Wieniläinen pukimo (1950).

[297] Berliner Dam Confection A. Rung & Co. (1900); Confection Darling (1916); Confektionsaffär Anna Weitzman (1923); Fonette (1925); Aktiebolaget Stiller Company (1925); La Femme Equipee OY (1926); Magasin Boulevard (1929); Leninki-Salonki Ester Eckert Oy (1934); Helsingin leninkikeskus (1935); Muotiliike Madame Jennie (1935); Nicole(1936); Modeaffär Hollywood (1936); Bensky Oy (1936); Alix (1936); Robell (1936); Leninki Qualite (1949); Leninkipukimo (1950); Tyylivalmiste (1951); Finess (1953); Bianca (1953); Belmode (1953); Grandezza (1956); La Ronde (1961); Mary Dress Oy (1964).

[298] Tyg- och kortvaruaffren Standard (1922); Lyhyttavara Aitta Ar le (Levin 1940), Viipurin housu- ja puserokeskus (1941).
Billiga Barngarderober (1916); Barnkonfektion Darling (1923); Lasten Pukimo (1931); Lastenpukimo Kaleva (1939); Leslie (1949); Lasten Puku (1950); Lasten Pukimo Puettu (1951),

[300] Nya Hatt- och Mössmagasinet I Leffkovitsch afvingar (1900); Helsingfors nya handskmagasin (1908); London Hatt Magasinet (1910); Helsingfors Möss - och Hattaffär (1910); Nordiska Hatt- och Pälsvaroaffär (1918); Hatt- & Mode-Kompaniet i Finland (1922); Hatt- & Pälsvarumagasin (1926); Lontoon Hattu Oy London Hatt ab (1931); Suomen baskeri (1937).

manufacturers.[301] When the particulars of these various family companies are taken together, the "rag trade" begins to resemble a large department store, where each family tends to its own section. Family businesses may have been small, but they tended to cluster together to function as a larger whole. Then there were the companies indirectly associated with the "rag trade." There were repair services for outfits, furs, and other more expensive products. There was also a laundry chain.[302] Other companies dealt in a variety of consumer products such as cosmetics,[303] and gold and watches and eye ware.[304] It is this system of family business clusters that makes Helsinki Jewish entrepreneurship particularly interesting. It invites discussion on ethnic and immigrant trades in the ethnic enclave economy literature. In the primarily Anglo-American literature, ethnic enclave entrepreneurship typically has "*locational clustering of firms, economic interdependency, and co-ethnic employees.*"[305]

In practice, the entrepreneurs in the Helsinki Jewish community indicate that the line between "ethnic" business and family business is blurred. Much of what the ethnic entrepreneurship literature finds in the ethnic realm applies to the family business. For example, the idea of a need to control the business and, therefore, keep the business in a simple form, does not necessarily have to do with minority-majority relations. According to business historians Andrea Colli and Mary Rose, *"family ownership could be associated with a business strategy emphasizing product specialization rather than diversification, as is typical in the managerial enterprise. From this perspective families are more inclined to manage a single-business, specialized firm than a large diversifier*."[306]

All the larger urban areas had rows of little garment stores. If one were to set up shop in interwar Finland, the most likely business would be garments and textiles. The garment business requires little capital, is easy to relocate, and is labor-intensive. Historically, it is a common immigrant trade. Garment manufacturing typically takes place on a small scale and in a small location, yet it can have large and complicated trade networks. The textile industry, on the other hand, requires more capital and a regionally important employer.

The garment industry plays a central role in urbanization and as a promoter of growth in urban centers. It is, by nature, closely related to the history of immigration and ethnic minorities in the urban areas. This is by and large an unexplored part of the history of Helsinki.

By the same token, taken as a cluster of small firms overlapping each other in the same category of business, the cluster appears as "Jewish" or "ethnic." On closer analysis, however, the role of ethnicity becomes blurred. Ethnic networks may be important, but interpersonal relations within the families bear the heavier burden of importance.[307] From the business point of view, the very networks of trust, as evidenced in the ethnic entrepreneurship studies that bring "ethnicity" into the game, can also be used by simply referring to the family business. *"Networks of interrelated family business have proved especially resilient in those sectors where flexibility has been the main source of competitive advantage,*" as Andera Colli and Mary Rose have noted.[308]

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[301] Nordiska Ullkompaniet Wainstein & Co; Suomen Villatuote.
[302] Americano (1926).
[303] Kemikalia Formica (1919); Parfumerie La Belle (1956);
[304] R. Gorell (1929); Silmä-lasi Tukku (1954).
[305] Light & Karagheois 1994, 647.
[306] Colli & Rose 2007, 200.
[307] Sanders 2002, 340.
[308] Colli & Rose 2007, 199–200.

There are interesting works showing that the ethnic groups running the "rag trade" may change over time, and yet the structures of the networks remain unchanged. It has been estimated that two-thirds of London's fur trade was Jewish in the 1960s.[309] Sociologist Pnina Werbner's studies on the recent garment trade in Manchester shows that this business is now the domain of the British Asian businessmen.[310] The ethnic component of the entrepreneurship remains even though the group organizing the trade changes.

Ethnic minorities, almost by definition, feature a notably different occupational profile compared to the dominant society. In terms of immigrant groups this is natural if not inevitable. Many scholars from economic historian Simon Kuznets in the 1960s to present-day scholars on ethnic studies have noted that it would, indeed, be much more noteworthy if an immigrant group were to have the same occupational profile as the general society.[311]

Contrary to all contemporary Jewish expectations and assumptions in previous literature, no dramatic change took place in the entrepreneurship and self-employment rate among the Helsinki Jews. Why would the Helsinki Jews continue in the "rag trade" after the legal work restrictions were removed? When and how did Jewish business-owners become considered Finnish businessmen?

Other urban entrepreneurs and self-employed people in a similar category of business would make the only relevant comparison. Yet, there exists a gap in the literature of economic history on urban, small-family businesses in Finland.

The following chapters will consider such questions as Jewish business, and the community is examined more closely in each of the three major time periods of this study. It is an undeniable fact that, for the first six decades, Jewish families could not freely choose their occupations. Therefore, the next chapter will begin with a deeper look at the Narinkka marketplace and the Imperial era. I will also contextualize the business in the framework of the Russian military.

[309] Berenbaum & Skolnik, eds. 2007, 313–314.
[310] Werbner 2007, 381–383.
[311] Kuznets 1960, 1605–1606.

6. The Narinkka Marketplace and Other "Jewish Trades"

In the historiography of local Jewish life, Narinkka symbolizes and represents insecurity, despotism, and poverty alike. Narinkka was *"[...] the arena of the Jewish struggle for material livelihood. It was there they passed the better part of their days and cared little about the foaming life around them. It therefore became initially their ghetto."*[312] The dominant narrative on the history of Jews in Finland draws parallels between the occupational restrictions, Narinkka marketplace, and poverty alike.

Narinkka holds a strong place in the collective memory of the community as the "Jewish Ghetto." Like a "*stillleben*" (still-life painting), it is colored by what is known of its last years, an immutable symbol of the low social status of the Jews. However, the Narinkka marketplace was a vibrant part of Helsinki's history for a hundred years, dating back to the early nineteenth century. Even the process of taking it down lasted over a decade. Over such a long period of time, its function and social meaning underwent changes. The static image of its last years is not representative of its entire history, its role in the city, or its meaning to previous generations.

There is an interesting difference in how historians write about Narinkka and how contemporary sources talk about the place. Narinkka's second-hand dealers appear in many memoirs written by bourgeois women remembering their Helsinki childhoods in olden times, when social rank still counted. In these accounts poor Jewish peddlers are not so much associated with poverty as with their foreignness. They were seen as outsiders and, as such, frightening and exciting. Marie Lüsch recalls:

[In addition to newspaper sales] "A business of another type took place on the streets of Helsinki without any hullabaloo, yet insistent: 'Ma'am has any used clothes?' (…). Most often these Jewish women were on the Esplanade, one was least safe from them on the benches there. As youths we found it so awful to be addressed like that on the street, and I personally was afraid of them and their black, glowing eyes."[313]

Another woman born in the early 1890s recalls a Narink-merchant that used to come to buy clothes from their home:

> *She [unlike other peddlers] came through the main door and rang the doorbell: "We called her the Jew-Granny [...]. She was one of those Jews who collected used clothes, bought children's worn and used adult garments, repaired them, and sold them further for a good price. Her store was one of the stalls in the Kamppi square. This place was called 'Narinkka'. The place where the stalls were located was fenced like the souks of the Arabs. This peddler spoke some kind of judedeutsch, 'Yiddish-Deutsch', and walked in asking: 'Haben Sie was, gut Frau?'. If mother was unsure, she assured: 'Na suchen Sie mahl, gut Frau': Mamma found a rag and the haggling started. To get rid of her, Mamma sold the suit for 25 pennies although she had initially asked for one markka, and was decisive that she had nothing else. We children thought this buyer had an unpleasant look. She was a typical character of her race: black, big nose, and somehow dirty. Yet there was something delicate in her, or was it something subservient? As if she was ashamed of her job, and should we*

[312] Jacobsson 1951, 105.
[313] Lüsch, 1997, 62, my translation, original in Swedish.

sometimes meet her on the street, she turned away from us, so that Mamma would not have to greet her. Did she perhaps think that Mamma would not have wanted to?[314]

The same author recalls that it was commonly believed in early twentieth-century Helsinki that the *"ready-to-wear industry was completely in the hands of Jews, and they only produced coats."*[315]

Because Narinkka marketplace so strongly dominates the imagination, its part in the occupational profile of the Helsinki Jews seems a forgone conclusion. A closer look at the data available on its vendors, however, reveals a slightly different reality.

Table 7 *Narinkka vendors in 1915 and 1930.*

	1915		1930	
	N	%	N	%
Women	24	42.9	16	50.0
Men	32	57.1	16	50.0
Total	56	100.0	32	100.0

Sources: *See Table 2 on page 39 and the Appendix.*

Table 7 shows in 1930, a year before the marketplace was closed, that half of the Narinkka merchants were women. To be more precise, these women were almost invariably widows. Of the 32 vendors at the market in 1930 only two were new in the business, that is, those who had not been at Narinkka already in 1915.

From the late nineteenth century until the early 1930s, Narinkka was located next to the Russian military training fields. This was actually its second location. Originally, it was situated close to the main marketplace by the South Harbor, next to the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1876 that site was chosen for the construction of the Bank of Finland and so a new site was found for the Russian marketplace. The new Narinkka was built in the same year in the Kampmalmen district (Kamppi), near a rubbish dump, and the army training fields on the outskirts of town. This place was chosen mainly to be near the Russian military and training fields.[316] Here too were the working-class quarters, streets with shallow wooden houses.

Before the modernization and democratization of the clothing industry, the role of second-hand clothing markets was that of the initial form of ready-to-wear clothes on sale.[317] A growing working population provided steady demand for a marketplace selling second-hand clothing. Narinkka provided a living for approximately 40–45 merchants and traders, of whom most (but not all) were Jewish.[318] The town constructed the long rows of sheltered wooden stalls and provided the fire insurance. It recouped the expenses by renting out the

[314] Ahde-Kjäldman 1964, 93–94, my translation, original in Finnish.
[315] Ahde-Kjäldman 1964, 82.
[316] Berättelser över Helsingfors stads kommunalförvaltning [Annual report of the municipal administration of Helsinki] 1876, 101.
[317] Green 1997, 21.
[318] "Narinkahyror 1918-1922"; "Narinkavuokrat 1923–1926"; "Narinkavuokrat 1927–1930". Drätselkammar, Gy:21, CA.

market stands.[319] Originally built on the outskirts of town, 40 years later Narinkka found itself practically in the center of Helsinki with good public transportation and new commercial streets nearby.

6.1 Divergent Accounts of Narinkka

Contrary to the image left to future generations by the writings of the 1950s,[320] archival accounts tell of a vigorous campaign to save the marketplace that the Narinkka merchants waged for years.[321] The discussion of closing down Narinkka began in 1912. The location was regarded as too valuable and central for a second-hand market. The City of Helsinki planned to demolish Narinkka for construction of the future police headquarters.[322] The merchants tried to keep Narinkka open, later enlisting the help of the Helsinki Jewish congregation's administration. The debate continued for fifteen years, until Narinkka was finally closed and demolished in 1931.

Narinkka vendors would hardly have been so determined to save the place had it not provided them needed income. When one recalls the widows working in the market during those last years, another perspective is gained: there was no pension or social security system available for the elderly and poor at that time, only what meager charity the Jewish self-help associations could offer. Narinkka filled that need.

The City of Helsinki, the merchants of Narinkka, and a committee sent by the Jewish community of Helsinki discussed the future of Narinkka in the years between 1928 and 1930.[323] While they talked, the City Museum of Helsinki decided to photograph the marketplace as part of an ongoing effort to collect memories of the city.[324] Already at that time, Narinkka was regarded as a historic relic worth documenting, worthy of public remembrance. These photographs have since been used in numerous publications to represent the poorer faces of yesterday's Helsinki.

[319] Berättelser över Helsingfors stads kommunalförvaltning [Annual report of the municipal administration of Helsinki] 1893, 76.
[320] Jacobsson 1951; Weinstein 1956b.
[321] "Narinka-kysymys", Anomuksia narinkan säilyttämiseksi", file 167; Berättelse avgiven av Judiska Församlingens i Helsingfors Förvaltningsråd för verksamhetsåret 1931, Helsingfors 1931, file 62 Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[322] Berättelser över Helsingfors stads kommunalförvaltning [Annual report of the municipal administration of Helsinki] 1914.
[323] "Narinkens öde nu beseglat", HBL 22 September, 1920.
[324] The site itself has also given its name to the Helsinki City Museum publication, Narinkka, although none of the articles in that publication has discussed the history of the originally Russian and then mostly Jewish marketplace.

Picture 1 *The stalls of the Narinkka marketplace in 1929. City of Helsinki Photographs Collection, Helsinki City Museum Archives.*

At the same time, many papers wrote articles on the place that was soon to become history. For example, a Swedish-language weekly published a report of the place in the summer of 1929.[325] The story began with the reporter's own experience. She had once bought shoes from Paris, used them for some time, and finally donated them to a poor immigrant from St. Petersburg. She wrote how, out of curiosity, she took a walk through the Narinkka marketplace and there, to her surprise, found her old shoes, repaired but still identifiable "*no longer at the price of 250 marks, but now 40 marks*." She then wandered around and talked to the merchants, who were reserved and not at all interested in publicity. She managed to befriend one of the older ladies who was willing to tell her about life at the marketplace. In the reporter's story, the old Narinkka merchant seems quite content with her work and surprisingly states:

> *Many of our lot have started here with two bare hands and made a fortune. Not all have such luck as the old Rung, Stiller, Skurnik, and Pergament, – oh, it's needless to reckon all the names, for they all started here and now their sons – at least some of them – are millionaires. Yes, one can well call Narinken the Jewish university of Helsinki because it is here they got their training and learned the art of business.*[326]

One can hardly think of a wider social and economic gap in early twentieth-century Helsinki than that between a second-hand peddler in the working-class and military district of Kamppi and the managing directors and business-owners of the prosperous Eira district. The

[325] "Den gamla narinkens nekrolog", 31 May 1929, BRAGE.
[326] "Den gamla narinkens nekrolog," 31 May 1929, BRAGE.

four names mentioned – Rung, Stiller, Skurnik, and Pergament – all belonged to wealthy, respected families in the Jewish congregation.

Moses Skurnik was a textile merchant, and benefactor.[327] He was a celebrity in the Helsinki of the 1920s and the 1930s who represented "new money" gained in the stock exchange boom of the 1910s.[328] The three other family names mentioned as "millionaires" were manufacturer Hirsch Rung, the luxury-class boutique owner Abraham Stiller, and wholesaler J. Pergament. Apart from Stiller, all three men lived in the new art nouveau villas in the most valuable Eira district of Helsinki.[329]

By the early 1900s there was, in fact, a wider circle of Jewish families who, while perhaps not millionaires, had attained the living standards of the Helsinki upper-middle class. These entrepreneurial families owned property in the most valuable areas of Helsinki. Their children went to the best schools in Helsinki and were sent to universities and on study trips in Europe. These upper (middle)-class families owned countryside villas outside Helsinki, played bridge and tennis, and spent holidays abroad, often at the tourist locales favored by European Jewish bourgeois families before the Second World War. How did such remarkable economic mobility occur within the time frame of just one generation? How are such varied accounts of Narinkka to be understood?

There are not many accounts of everyday life at Narinkka from the Jewish point of view. Therefore the family stories of Miriam Seligson, née Bensky, the daughter of a manufacturer and textile wholesaler are especially precious.[330] The idea of Narinkka as the place where the business was learned comes up in her memoirs when she recalls – with some skepticism – how her father used to say that he had gotten his business education from selling shoestrings at the age of six.[331]

With somewhat more confidence, Seligson recounts the life of her fraternal mother Rebecka, née Radsevitsch. Her story is one of remarkable upward economic mobility. Born in Viipuri around 1857, at the age of 15 Rebecka married a significantly older, retired soldier, a divorcé from Vilnius. The couple had seven children, two of whom died in infancy. They made their meager living at Narinkka. In 1891, at the age of 33, Rebecka Bensky was widowed and left alone with five young children. She continued at Narinkka but now developed the business into ready-made suits, which she imported from St. Petersburg. After one short marriage that ended in divorce, she married a 'permitted' Polish-Jewish soldier in 1900. The couple had two children. Rebecka raised seven children working at Narinkka. The childhood of Rebecka's oldest daughter and the childhood of her youngest daughter reflect the change in the family's fortunes and rise in living standards.

The oldest daughter Anna was born in 1877. She grew up in a rented one-bedroom apartment with her parents, siblings, and occasionally with their aunt and cousins who were visiting from Vilnius. At the age of 20, Anna married a Polish-born tailor, a permitted soldier, who worked in one of the Jewish military tailor factories. In the early years of her marriage, the couple lived with her mother and siblings, along with their little daughter in a rented two-room apartment.[332]

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[327] Ekholm 2010.
[328] "Hän pörssii eli eräs nykyaikainen aapiskukko", Suomen kuvalehti No. 5 3 February 1917.
[329] "Yearbook 1930"; Nenonen & Toppari 1983, 26–28, 35–36, 52.
[330] Seligson 1981.
[331] Seligson 1981,71.
[332] Seligson 1981, 62–83.

In quite a different childhood, the youngest daughter Vera, born in 1903, from Rebecka's second marriage, grew up in an apartment with three rooms and a kitchen. The family did not necessarily have more living space, because they rented out one of the rooms. The greatest difference was that Rebecka owned the apartment herself. Instead of helping at the family shop in Narinkka, Vera stayed at home and took private piano lessons. The family owned a piano, an unmistakable status symbol at the time. How was this possible? Rebecka is said to have always been very economical. She never touched her savings even if there was not enough money for a Sabbath meal. She would rather go to her warehouse, take a suit and pawn it. Then on Monday, right after the first deal was made, the pawn was redeemed and the suit again put on sale. Thanks to her thrift she was actually able to begin making small loans to those who were in need of cash. According to the family story, Rebecka managed quite well in her later years, because, it is explained, *"she ran a small-scale banking business."*[333]

The story of Rebecka includes all the elements of traditional Orthodox Jewish community life. Women played an active role in business. Families were rooted in mid- nineteenth-century Helsinki, while the spouses often came from the Russian Pale of Settlement. Business began in the Narinkka marketplace and developed, partly by importing products from larger urban centers like imperial St. Petersburg, partly through informal credit networks, and partly due to the tight connection Jewish trade had to the imperial Russian army.

6.2 "Narinkka": the Role of the "Pariah Occupations"

The original regulation of 1867, specifying the occupations allowed to the permitted Jewish soldiers and under-officers along with the enforcement of this regulation, are well documented. They were allowed to sell clothes, berries, cigars, and kitsch in limited and controlled conditions. Jews could not own land, nor take a governmental post. There is less discussion of the logic behind the occupations specified. Why the restrictions to small-scale trade and second-hand clothing in the first place? Narinkka was closely connected to the Russian military. Retired soldiers and their families started up small businesses there. The hundreds of men living and working in the nearby barracks guaranteed a constant demand for items sold at the marketplace – mostly second hand-clothes, but also cigars and fruit. In the marketplace a growing working-class population could find second-hand clothing at a reasonable price. Narinkka was also part of the clothing and cleaning trade serving the wealthier people, who offered used garments for sale.

Such trade at Narinkka marketplace was a typical example of what social historians and anthropologists refer to *as "infamous" or "pariah occupations".*[334] These were domains traditionally designated for social outcasts, transients, and ethnic minorities. Historical anthropologist Anton Blok includes among the infamous occupations such different, and for the pre-modern society, often indispensable occupations as executioner, skinner, prostitute, and beggar, but also diviner, healer, barber, bath attendant, collector of night soil, scavenger, sweeper, town crier, jailor, tooth-puller, linen weaver, grave-digger, undertaker, caretaker of tombs, miller, blacksmith, musician, dancer, actor, itinerant artisan, and entertainer.[335] The

[333] Seligson 1981, 84–88.
[334] Blok 2001, 44.
[335] Blok 2001, 44.

common denominator of these various means of gaining a living is that they have been considered dishonorable and have therefore been left to groups at the margins of the dominant society.

Peasant societies and urban settings alike provided a living for and, indeed, could not have functioned without diverse groups of people whose means of gaining a livelihood was based on seasonal or permanent mobility.[336] Itinerants such as peddlers, healers, entertainers, and seasonal laborers traveled part of the year or full time. Many of the "*infamous*" or "*pariah*" occupations arise from a need created by an established societal boundary: the good and the evil, life and death, ritual purity and taboo. In order to accomplish the tasks which are necessary, but which break with social norms, the individuals or groups performing the tasks must live identifiably separate from the rest of society.

The second-hand garment trade was a pariah occupation. Anthropologists and social historians alike have noted that the logic of occupational differentiation both requires and strengthens the social segregation of the people engaged in "*infamous occupations".* The intellectual roots of the concept go back to Max Weber's classical notions of "*pariah capitalism,*" ethno-religious minorities that specialized in trade.[337]

The reasoning goes that pariah status had a rationality of its own in pre-modern societies. It is not a coincidence that "*pariah occupations*" were often carried out by groups who were already treated differently by societal norms. Often these were people whose very presence in society was breaking taboos and crossing social boundaries. Being an outsider was not only a consequence of performing dishonorable work, but often a job requirement. Differentiation was a consequence of the interaction between groups with different cultural norms, but it was also a precondition for the successful functioning of a society which considered some jobs beneath them. From the point of view of the general society, pariah groups were as much condemned as they were needed. From the point of view of the "pariah," assimilation would have jeopardized their livelihood. And similarly, those who remain in these trades were less likely to assimilate.

Although often pushed to the margins of idealized reconstructions and images of past societies perceived as more stable and simple compared to complexities of present times, groups occupied in "*infamous occupations*" are to be found throughout history and throughout the world. Outsiders doing the work left for outsiders to do. This is why one could find Finns sweeping chimneys in St. Petersburg,[338] while Russians swept the streets in Helsinki. Though treated as social outcasts and kept apart from ordinary social life, their services were required in the village or town. By their very differences, they were connected to the life of the community and its townspeople. Travelers, itinerants, and gypsies might move from house to house. Sometimes outsiders were quite literally placed outside the society, living separately in clearly segregated communities on the outskirts of towns.

The anthropological literature has recognized bargaining as a traditional part of trading. It is easier to maintain the roles if the trader is a bit of a "stranger." The Chinese merchants of the Malay villages have a stronger accent and wear "traditional" Chinese clothes on the days when the local peasants make their purchases.[339] Being different could potentially be seen as a marketing strategy in a pre-modern society.

[336] Blok 2001, 44–68, Tervonen 2010.
[337] Light & Karageorgis 1994, 647.
[338] Blok 2001, 46; Engman 1995, 249.
[339] Blok 2001.

Social historian Miika Tervonen's study of the Finnish Roma people and travelers in Sweden shows how making associations between the way of life and social order was one of the common denominators that gave the group an "ethnic" status.[340] Narinkka relegated Jews to a low social position, segregated and different not only for their different religion and background but also on the grounds by which they made a living. This comes up clearly in the memoires of Brigitta Gadolin from the early twentieth century. She remembers how her family bought clothes by "*Klädjudar,"* "cloth-Jews." Bargaining was a fixed part of the trading practice with the Jewish shopkeepers.[341]

One should not over-emphasize, let alone give too romantic a view of the position of social outcasts. Nevertheless, many of the anecdotes, jokes, and stories about Jewish merchants concern the differences, but not necessarily the negative aspects, of the "outsider." A Swedish historian Lars Andersson has demonstrated how stereotypes and negatives images of Jews were frequently used in the Swedish print media in an everyday context. According to Andersson, mild antisemitic discourses were an important and unquestioned tool for defining the authentic Swedish as opposed to "foreign Jews."[342]

Stereotyps of Jewish "business manners" were also widespread in Finland. For example, the"secret hint" that one could get a good bargain from a Jew on Monday mornings was commonly known. Helsinki residents "knew" that, for a Jew, the first deal after the Sabbath forecast the success of the coming business week and so he or she would rather sell low than lose a sale.[343] Perhaps the *konfectionists* could also sometimes gain the advantage of such stereotypes, thus making the stereotypes their prevalent practices.[344]

"*Pariah*" groups and "*infamous occupations,*" low and marginalized social status, segregated social positions: this is clearly the context into which previous historians have placed the history of the Helsinki Jewish community. It is here one must remember, though, that the history the Jewish community is not some static photo of Narinkka. As discussed before, despite the restrictions set on Jews, Helsinki Jewish families operated businesses that went beyond the Narinkka trade. Among the 75 largest companies measured by their tax unit for the City of Helsinki in 1913, four were owned by Jews in Helsinki: *M. Skurnik, Pergament & Rung, Pergament & Linder and S.S. Strascheffkskij*.[345] Of the three factories manufacturing hats in the beginning of the twentieth century, two were Jewish-owned.[346]

Of "*pariah occupations,*" social historian Laurence Fontaine has studied peddlers and other transient communities. Her studies demonstrate how economic status varied and how it is a mistake to confuse a meager social status with a low economic status.[347] For now, the potential for economic mobility existed, even if social mobility lagged behind.

[340] Tervonen 2010, 22.
[341] Gadolin 1971, 84.
[342] Andersson 2000.
[343] Interview with B. Rubanowitch January 2011.
[344] Ekholm 2005, 182–183.
[345] Kovero 1955a, 337–342.
[346] Kovero 1955b, 438–439.
[347] Fontaine 1996.

6.3 Russian Military and the Ready-To-Wear

Closely connected to the Russian military, the Jewish garment industry serves as an example of how and under what conditions the norms of a pre-modern society became sources of modern urban economic success.

All Jewish families in Finland had their roots in the Russian army. Not all Jews were soldiers, let alone Cantonists, a system that was abolished in 1856. There were suppliers, military tailors, and other skilled artisans who served on the military base.[348] Nor was every military Jew poor. There are indications that an economic division was present in the community. Jews could seldom reach higher ranks in the Imperial Russian army.[349] They could, however, make good careers for themselves, especially as expediters in the large military projects conducted in the new territories of the Russian empire. Consequently, the Imperial Russian army employed the best professional artisans and master tailors and offered lucrative career paths for competitive and ambitious men in the military. The status of such professional craftsmen and suppliers was not necessarily higher than the lower rank soldiers, but the economic prospects certainly had more potential.

Finland was economically more developed as compared with other parts of Eastern Europe's border regions. In the decades between 1860 and 1914, the Finnish economy grew at a faster rate than the European average. The country that had been desperately poor in 1860 could reach the European average by the eve of the First World War.[350] Helsinki was, in fact, one of the most rapidly growing cities in Europe between 1870 and 1910.[351] In the space of forty years, a town of 32,000 people more than quadrupled in size to a city of 136,496 citizens – not including growth in the suburbs and surrounding area. Helsinki provided a lucrative market for consumer products, especially clothing. The growing population guaranteed a constant demand for cheaper clothes, accessories and shoes. In the cold Nordic climate even the poorest day-laborers and factory workers needed clothing, warm outfits, hats, and shoes. Newcomers from the countryside and factory laborers were a prime market for second-hand products that the Jewish tailors repaired. Helsinki was not only becoming the largest industrial city in the country; indeed, it was becoming a center for domestic and international trade as well.

All in all, the register files confirm the elements of Rebecka Bensky's story. Santeri Jacobsson also mentioned in his 1951 book that some of the Narinkka merchants started to import ready-to-wear clothes from St. Petersburg. The contemporaries called this *konfektion.* What Jacobsson did not mention is that *konfektion* was not only a recent innovation, but also one strongly associated with the Jews. While there is no clear evidence of who produced the clothes in St. Petersburg, or who exported them to Helsinki for that matter, it is primarily the Jews of Helsinki who imported ready-to-wear articles and introduced them to the Finnish markets. There is little doubt that the business network was at least partly based on Jewish business links.

The first Jewish firms registered in the Finnish trade register, starting from 1896, had remarkably similar registration files. They mostly claimed to operate in terms of the

[348] Jacobson mentions this in his 1907 pamphlet, but not after the Second World War in 1951, Jacobson 1907, 109.
[349] Nathans 2002, 182; the situation was probably similar for other non-Christian minorities.
[350] Hjerppe 1989, 50–51.
[351] Official Statistics of Finland (SVT) 1880.

following categories: "*trade with ready-made clothes and fabrics,*"[352] "*peddler with an import business*" (*agenturrörelse*),[353] "*trade with second-hand clothes,*"[354] "*trade both with new and used clothes and repairs of galoshes,*"[355] "*Trade with used furniture,*"[356] "*tailor store and ready-made clothes,*"[357] "*trade with clothing and shoes or used shoes,*"[358] and "*grocery store and colonial products.*"[359] Moreover, some of the registered firms operated at the Narinkka marketplace.

These were the areas of trade legally allowed for Jews. In some of the entries, one can see that the term "*trade with used clothes*" has been added later. This would have clarified matters, just to be on the safe side. In fact, files of the early companies sometimes include a paragraph that was clearly added later on, because it was seen to be made using a different kind of a pencil, adding that the purpose of the company was "*to sell used clothes and similar activities*."

This is not to say that all businesses did in fact operate in the clothing business as stated in the registers. A history of the early film industry mentions the Rung brothers as the owners of a cinema.[360] However, the company appears in the trade register as A. Rungs Confectionsaffär, operating in the ready-to-wear field.[361] This Jewish-owned cinema was later noted by the satiric and antisemitic periodical *Fyren* in articles saying that Jews should not conduct business beyond the limits of Narinkka.[362]

There is one interesting exception to the list of early Jewish entrepreneurship in a non-garment related industry: the candy factory of Nochum Bonsdroff. In 1890 Bonsdorff established a candy factory that produced "caramels and marmalade."[363] In 1913 the factory employed 75 workers and won industrial prizes in Helsinki as well as abroad. This company has also been included in the *inhemska album,* a publication promoting and advertising Finnish producers and manufacturers in 1913. The Jewish background of the owner is not specifically mentioned, but the catalogue states that "all the workers are from St. Petersburg because the knowledge required for the production of candy is not yet available in our country."[364]

When the Jewish "rag trade" is set into the context of a bigger picture, it becomes clear that it was not exclusively a result of the nineteenth-century work restrictions. There were also other market forces at work. The garment trade was undergoing a shift from custom-

[352] Abraham Rung (1896), TR 5.215; Josef-Aron Rung (1896), TR 5.547; B. Rung (1896), TR 5.545; H. Rubinstein (1896), TR 6.339; Josef Radzewitsch (1896), TR 6.340, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[353] M. Rosenthal (1896), TR 5.346, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[354] H. Surovitsch (1896), TR 5.469; Faiba Kafka (1896), TR 5.924; Josel Gutferd (1896), TR 5.961.
[355] Mordka Linder (1896), TR 5.531, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[356] Isak Polarski TR 5.541, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[357] Josef Pergament (1896), TR 5.544; Josef Weintraub (1896), TR 5.546, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[358] Lena Ancker (1896), TR 5.648; Mowsha Jankeloff (1896), TR 5.936, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[359] W. Leibowitsch (1896), TR 5.933, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[360] Hirn 1991, 30.
[361] Abraham Rung (1896), TR 5.215, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[362] Hirn 1991, 30.
[363] N. Bonsdroff (1896), TR 5.500. The factory later changed its name to Helsingfors nya Karamell fabrikand, even later, after a bankruptcy, reopened as Karamellitehdas Suomi (1914), TR 34.364, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[364] Album över den inhemska industrin, 1913, 204.

made to ready-made clothing, and thereby a mass-consumption item.[365] Military suppliers found themselves particularly well placed to take advantage of changes, both industrial and political.

As historian Nancy L. Green has stated: *"Revolution, war, and women all contributed to the changing nature of nineteenth-century clothing demand."*[366] Until the 1850s and the 1860s, most clothes were produced at home. The materials, fabric, and yarns were commercially produced and purchased from the 1830s onward, yet virtually all clothing that was not sewn at home was produced by tailors and their assistants. The 1850s saw several important technological innovations that would change the way clothing was produced. The increasing availability of the sewing machine, especially the Singer, made faster production possible.[367] The modern military played a key role in the world-wide development of industrialized textile production and the standardization of the work process used in the garment industry. The Crimean War, the Franco-Preussian War, and both the American and Spanish Civil Wars increased the demand for uniforms – now produced with standardized sizes.[368]

Innovations such as the sewing machine enabled faster production, too. Large orders of uniforms constantly needed filling. So, the military began to reorganize the work process and develop novel production methods to most quickly turn out uniforms. The mass-measurement of soldiers led to the standardization of sizes for sewing patterns – a wholly new innovation.[369] The standardization of production methods for modern military and civilian uniforms was instrumental for the development of the ready-to-wear industry.

The traditional model of "sell-and-make" was yielding to the modern concept of "make-and-sell."[370] The other market forces included the rise of female wage-employment. Throughout Europe and North America, the 1890s saw an increasing demand for inexpensive coats and cloaks for lower-middle-class female employees. These were the first ready-to-wear items produced for women.

Many of the oldest Jewish companies in Helsinki had their origins in the military. Isak Seligson (born in 1844 in Latvia) was a military master tailor who produced uniforms for the officers in the Russian military. His son took over the workshop (*I.E. Seligsons Skrädderietablissment*).[371] After Finland's independence, the firm produced uniforms for the Finnish army. Despite the major historical changes taking place, the changes were not at all that dramatic from the point of view of such military producers as Seligson. For example, Seligson's most important customer in the Imperial era was Russian General C. G. E. Mannerheim. After Finland's independence in 1918, Mannerheim kept ordering uniforms in his new role in the Finnish Defense Forces.[372]

Similarly Jehuda Pergament (born as a soldier's son in Åbo/Turku in 1863) opened a wholesale business in 1893. He supplied military and civilian uniforms for over fifty years,

[365] Green 1997, 20.
[366] Green 1997, 23.
[367] Collins 2003, 29.
[368] Green 1997, 29–31.
[369] Green 2002, 728.
[370] Green 1997, 40.
[371] I. E. Seligsons Skrädderieetablissment (1921).
[372] Interview with B. Rubanovitsch, January 2011.

first for the Imperial Russian military, later for the Republic of Finland, especially for the Maritime Administration.[373]

In a similar vein, Miriam Seligson recalls how a relative in Viipuri had received a large order of hats from the local Russian military and managed to make good money this way.[374] Perez Katsman and Salomon Leffkovitsch registered a hat factory in 1896.[375] This factory is mentioned among the largest tax payers in Helsinki in the very early twentieth century.

Expediters for the military often found their businesses to be adaptable to changes in customers, governments, and even locations. For a garment business rooted in the military, a remarkable continuity was possible from the Imperial era, through the Finnish Civil War, and onward to independent Finland, right into the interwar era. Such adaptability and continuity in a business could prove profitable.

During Finland's *militärekipering* of the First World War, a firm that had manufactured uniforms since 1902 sent the son-in-law of the family to Stockholm.[376] This way the company could supply equipment throughout the war years with good profits.[377]

Many of the families who had already established businesses in Helsinki sent a family member to Denmark during the First World War, according to the Littoinen credit status inquiries.[378] There are no sources on why they went to Copenhagen, specifically, or who their contacts were. However, it seems their business was somehow involved in supplying goods to the Russian military. Rumors spread around town that several of these men were said to have made great fortunes during the war. Some of them were also accused of falsifying import ration permissions.[379]

During the Finnish Civil War, some of the larger military suppliers continued on with the Finnish army and supplied the Whites during the Civil War. For example *Suomen sotilaspukimo – Finlands militar ekipering* was originally started up in 1902 and at the beginning produced uniforms in modest quantities. Quite naturally these orders grew, notably during the First World War. After Finland's independence the company continued to produce uniforms, but now for the Finnish state and civil guard.[380]

The "*rag trade,*" as a "*pariah occupation,*" which the law proscribed for Jews in the Imperial era, is one part of the story. However, it has a counterpart. With roots in the Russian military, Jews could aspire to an economic, if not a social mobility. The wars of the nineteenth century and the demand for military uniforms, along with the availability of the sewing machine, allowed for innovative production methods and standardization of ready-made garments. A rise in working women and an increasingly urban working class created a

[373] "Sjuttiofemåring" HBL 21 October 1938, "Åttioåring" HBL 21 October 1943; "Åttiofemåring" HBL 23 October 1948.
[374] Seligson 1981.
[375] Perez Katsman & Salomon Leffkowitsch (1896) TR 5.458, National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland.
[376] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.
[377] Death announcement of Abraham Moses Gumpler in Svenska Pressen 31 December 1960; Littoisten verkatehtaan luetteo juutalaisista asiakkaista.
[378] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.
[379] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.
[380] Magazin Central (1902), Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.

ready market for civilian ready-to-wear. If some Narinkka merchants began to see an improvement in their living standards, military expediters often found themselves living in the wealthier parts of town. Businesses associated with the military often had the potential for diversification and expansion. They had a ready customer with potentially massive orders, even when the customer changed. These businesses could be remarkably adaptable to external changes, and capable of a lucrative continuity.

7. Jewish Commercial Domains and Beyond in Interwar Helsinki

As long as the legal status of Jews remained unclear and the restrictions on their means of gaining a livelihood were not officially removed, their economic profile required little elaboration. Civil rights activist Santeri Jacobsson was convinced that the removal of the legal obstacles for Jews would change the business-oriented occupational structure – which he, as a socialist, condemned.In a pamphlet written in 1907 for a socialist meeting, Jacobsson wrote:

> *The younger generation [of Finnish Jews] despises business, and many of them have dedicated themselves to studies. Some are studying at the Finnish universities, others study abroad, and a great many of the youth hold a degree from middle school or will soon get one. Even those who have no means for education orientate themselves for practical fields: they serve as sales representatives or shop assistants, but also as artisans."*[381]

The guidelines given by Santeri Jacbosson with the idea of forced entrepreneurship have clearly shaped the views on the occupational profile of the Helsinki Jews, and have been represented and reproduced on various occasions since then. During the campaign for the Jewish civil rights between 1905 and 1909, Santeri Jacobsson anticipated that after their emancipation Jews would find new careers and take new paths. What happened was exactly the opposite, as was shown in chapter 6. The 1920s formed a peak in the establishment of new businesses. In just two years following the passage of the civil rights legislation in 1918 a total of forty new Jewish companies were registered. This was as many new businesses in one year as there had been during the entire previous twenty years of Russian administration.

Laws no longer restricted Jews to this field of commerce, and yet the trend was towards even more small-scale start-ups in the garment trade. It is reasonable to assume a certain path-dependency from earlier ethnic discrimination that contributed to the decisions to start up a business in the "rag trade" among the Helsinki Jewish community members.

The naturalization (process) of the Jewish families was often a long and complicated process. [382] If the head of the family had no employment, one might expedite the naturalization process by setting up a business, with the know-how and experience of the community members. The ready access to knowledge, connections, and resources for start-up in the trade would have made it a logical choice. For example, in the spring of 1918, three companies – *Mattsoff, Waprinsky & Co., Fiedler & Leffkowitsch,* and *H. Schwartzman & I. Kafka* – were all registered within the same week of each other. All three companies were dissolved by the following summer when naturalization had been finalized.[383]

Other new start-ups may be explained by the institutional changes brought about by the Russian Revolution and Finland's independence. Some of the oldest companies dated back to the late 1880s.[384] Those Jewish companies which had primarily been associated with the Russian military business now formally registered their companies in Finland. For example,

[381] Jacobsson 1907, 110, my translation, original in Finnish.
[382] Torvinen 1989, 108.
[383] TR files 37.411; 37.412 and 37.413 (1918), NA.
[384] For example, the birthday announcement of Dir. Wulf Strascheffsky mentions that he stepped into his father's business at the age of 15 in 1888, HBL; Svenska Pressen 12 June 1943 (*Brages pressarkiv*).

the furrier house of *Grünstein's* moved from St. Petersburg to Helsinki after the Russian Revolution. This was the privilege of those who could prove their connection to Finland with earlier residential permits.[385]

Furthermore, at the time, the garment industry would have appeared a reasonable choice to someone looking to set up a new business. For proof of the potential of this commercial sector one had only to consider the big names, those who had "made it" in the 1890s and 1910s, and be inspired. The economy was growing again after the struggles of the First World War and Finland's civil war. All in all, the 1920s were times of favorable economic growth.[386]

7.1 Contextualizing the Trade in the Local Setting

One of the central claims against Jews in early twentieth-century Finland was their assumed "dominance" in the local markets.[387] Using the names of the Jewish-owned companies it is possible to consider whether such antisemitic ideas had any basis in reality. The business directory for 1929 is useful for this purpose, because it grouped all rag trade sectors under one title: "garment wholesale and retail, furs, hats, accessories, and textiles."[388]

In Helsinki there were 423 companies in this category.[389] Most of them were quite new and small. Many new retail shops were opened between 1925 and 1928 by Jews and non-Jews alike. Of these 423 companies, approximately 20% can be identified as Jewish-owned.[390] In 1929 Helsinki, regarding stores in the business of "garment wholesale and retail, furs, hats, accessories, and textiles," roughly one out of five were owned by Jews. In the two other Finnish towns with Jewish populations, the share of the Jewish companies in this trade was only slightly larger. Of the 55 clothing and textile stores in Viipuri, over 20% were Jewish-owned.[391] In Turku, one out of four of such stores was Jewish-owned.[392] Nevertheless, even if 20% to 25% were "Jewish," 75% to 80% were not. The fears of "Jewish dominance" seem unfounded and exaggerated. Merely 25% of a specific retail sector is unlikely to wield that kind of power.

Jews did not dominate the clothing industry in interwar Helsinki. However, the clothing industry most certainly dominated the Jewish community. A major part of the community gained their livelihood in these small family-owned stores that lined the streets, side by side. Since the families were interconnected through marriage, business relations were intertwined with family ties.

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[385] Grünstein 1989, 7–9.
[386] Hjerppe 1989, 48–49.
[387] Hanski 2006, 113–124.
[388] Suomen kauppakalenteri – Finlands handelskalender 1929.
[389] Suomen kauppakalenteri Finlands handelskalender 1929, III tyger, korta varor, beklädnads- och modeartiklar samt pälsvaror, 125–144.
III tyger, korta varor, beklädnads- och modeartiklar samt pälsvaror in Viborg, 426–430.
[390] Finlands handelskalender 1929, III tyger, korta varor, beklädnads- och modeartiklar samt pälsvaror, 125–144.
[391] Finlands handelskalender 1929, III tyger, korta varor, beklädnads- och modeartiklar samt pälsvaror.
[392] In Turku, one of four stores in these fields was run by Jewish families. Finlands handelskalender 1929,

A closer look at the 1929 data shows that the trade was as much gendered as it was "ethnic."[393] In Helsinki, from a total of 423 companies working in "garment wholesale and retail, furs, hats, accessories and textiles," 147 of these were owned by women, 172 by men, and 104 owners are unknown.[394] The presence of women in ownership positions is significant. Among the Jewish stores, the ownership was more male-dominated: 63 were owned by men, 10 by women, and 4 were unknown. This reveals more about traditions than it does about the reality of operating the shops. As discussed in chapter 2, Jewish women played a prominent role in running a Jewish shop despite the shop being registered as owned by a man.[395]

What ethnic entrepreneurship literature recognizes as "immigrant trades" are also trades typical of women entrepreneurs. Besides the large share of Jewish self-employed and business-owners, the share of women was relatively high among the entrepreneurs in the trade. Small-scale industry and trade in textiles, fashion and ready-to-wear has always provided entry to business to groups of people who prefer self-employment but have little or no start-up funds.

Historian Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen has studied women's entrepreneurship and employment in Finland from the eighteenth century through the late twentieth century. Her conclusions on women's entrepreneurial employment in many respects could be applied to ethnic entrepreneurship.[396] Women, like immigrants, tend to be unskilled or semiskilled and have little start-up capital. Women, as well as immigrants or religious minorities, are drawn to self-employment because they tend to have more of a need to control when and how they work. Women may care for small children. Religious minorities may have their own holidays, observances, diets, etc. The reasons may differ but the need to control when and how they work is often the same. Given these conditions, the options for women, immigrants, and religious minorities have traditionally been limited to markets with low barriers of entry, low added value, high labor intensity, and not incidentally, low status. These markets tend to be fiercely competitive and have a high rate of failure.[397] Clothing, cleaning services are women's trades as well as immigrant and ethnic minority trades. Needlework and small-scale trade has been an essential part of the working life of immigrant women.[398]

A worldwide Great Depression was underway as all business ground to a halt in the coming years. If the self-employed ethnic and religious minorities, immigrants, and women faced financial difficulties before the Depression, it did not get any easier in a serious economic crisis. Opening a small corner shop might have increasingly been a strategy for survival. The number of active registered Jewish businesses in Helsinki continued to increase during the interwar period.

Minority businesses were especially vulnerable in times of economic turbulence. If ethnic entrepreneurs often operate in markets where little capital is required and few educational qualifications are needed – markets normally characterized by cutthroat competition – ethnic networks often provide resources to help them survive.[399] In interwar Poland and Central

[393] Finlands handelskalender 1929.
[394] Finlands handelskalender 1929.
[395] On the invisibility of women in the sources see, Kaplan 1991; Green 2002; Bredefeldt 2008.
[396] Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 165–173.
[397] Volary 2007, 31.
[398] Green 2002; Rath 2002.
[399] Volary 2007, 31.

Eastern Europe a majority of the Jewish petty traders and peddlers could not have survived on what they earned without a complex network of charity and direct financial support. This support came largely from abroad. Relatives who had emigrated and Jewish charity organization offered small loans or direct financial support.[400]

The Helsinki Jewish community during the Great Depression provides a textbook case of the social capital of small ethnic minority communities. This extraordinary time period provides a window onto how the congregation managed in a situation where a majority of its members were dependent upon the garment trade in markets with diminishing returns.

To a community where over 60% gained their livelihood as entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, shop assistants, or in related tasks as tailors, agents and peddlers, the Great Depression came as a deep shock.[401] The community responded to the situation in two ways. First, the congregation's administration kept notes on which companies were able to hire an unemployed or bankrupt community member. In the taxation books little notations were made such as "*has become employed by X.*"[402] Second, and more significantly, the community launched a self-help aid program in 1930.

The Helsinki Jewish community preferred making small loans to small business-owners rather than making charitable gifts directly to needy individuals. A total of 347,730 Finnish markka were collected by the congregation.[403] The textile wholesale manager Moses Skurnik was the largest donator with over 124,000 Finnish markka. The program shows how intertwined the personal business relations were with the congregation's administration. Skurnik's office at *Oy Textil Ab* on Västra Hensriksgatan/L. Heikinkatu avenue became the headquarters of the congregation's aid program. The loan was given for 188 persons in the community.[404] Of those who received loans through this program, less than 20% ever cleared their debts with Skurnik or the Helsinki Jewish congregation.[405]

Donations play a role in the organization of the Orthodox Jewish congregation. The donations were announced in an annual report,[406] and positions of trust and responsibility in the congregation corresponded to the donations announced in this report.[407] The institutional structure of the Helsinki Jewish community has its counterparts in other small minority congregations: the German community (*Deutsche Gemeinde* in Helsinki)[408]; the organizations of the Russian merchants of Helsinki (*Russkoe Kupetsheskoe Obshtshestvo Gelsingforse*)[409]; and the Islamic Tatar community.[410] Remarkable in the Helsinki Jewish community was the general devotion to Zionist projects.

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[400] Wasserstein 2012.
[401] Berättelse avgiven av Judiska Församlingens i Helsingfors Förvaltningsråd för verksamhetsåret 1929, Helsingfors 1930, "överblick", 1, file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[402] Veroluettelot 1927–1930, kotelo 238, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[403] Apu- ja lainakassan tositteita, Ab Textil Oy, Henrikinkatu 14; Luettelo annetuista lainoista 1930–1833, file 37, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[404] Apu- ja lainakassan tositteita, Ab Textil Oy, Henrikinkatu 14; Luettelo annetuista lainoista 1930–1833, file 37, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[405] Personal files of Moses Skurnik. The courtesy of Samuli Skurnik.
[406] Berättelse avgiven av Judiska Församlingens i Helsingfors Förvaltningsråd, file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[407] Berättelse avgiven av Judiska Församlingens i Helsingfors Förvaltningsråd, file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[408] Forsén 2011,
[409] Leinonen 2002.
[410] Karvonen 1975.

In most cases, however, one's kin was more important than any congregation-based social capital: The Jewish families formed complicated family networks through marriages, and it was often exactly through these networks that the business was organized and at least partly financed. This comes up in the Littoinen credit-status inquiries. For many of those able to pay for credit obtained, it was due to the backing of a wealthier family member, father, brother, or father-in-law. This comes up in notions such as "his father-in-law is known to be rich," "uses the money of his father." If the inquiry estimated the person as not able to repay their credit, it was due to "the bankruptcy case of a son-in-law."[411]

[411] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat, ELKA.

7.2 A Bourgeois Elite and the Subcontracted Self-Employed

The Jewish theater group of Helsinki, *Jidishe dramatiske gezelshaft in Helsingfors* performed Jac Weinstein's Yiddish-language revues. The comedies played off and made fun of some persistent stereotypes against Jews and the general secularizing trend in the congregation. Another frequently used theme was that of the *nouveaux riches* in the Jewish community.[412] A revue written for the New Year's Eve of 1930 relates the luxurious life of Mr. and Mrs. Grosist ("Wholesaler") who spend their time in theaters and travel to Spas around Central Europe. The opposite to this lifestyle is the Narinkka market place; der jidišer mark:

> *Men hert bai undz imer sai fri i sai špet*
> *a nomen, vos klingt nit geheibn.*
> *men makht mit dem kop ven men fun es redt,*
> *fun fintstern geto es hot a gerukh*
> *un fun ire aizerne tsamen,*
> *fun špot un farfolgung, fun laidn un flukh –*
> *der jidišer mark iz der nomen.*
>
> *One hears between us always from early hours 'til late at night*
> *a name with a less noble clang*
> *that makes one shake one's head whenever mentioned*
> *that smells of a dusky Ghetto*
> *and of its iron wall*
> *and of mock, persecution, of suffering and ruination* [413]

Many fragmentary notes in the research material indicate that differences between the "better families" and the poorer Jews already existed in the mid-nineteenth century. An inherent consequence of business-oriented communities is social stratification. In a community where over one-third of the population was entrepreneurs and where over half were wage-workers employed by their co-ethnic business-owners, income gaps among the congregation members were inevitable.

The congregational taxation lists show the financial importance of the most successful entrepreneurs for the community.[414] These lists reveal income differences among top manager-owners and market vendors, shop assistants and retailers, and different wage-workers. In 1930, 1% (a mere 2 individuals) paid 8% of the congregational tax incomes. The taxes paid by 10% of the congregation accounted for 45% of the tax income. Or seen from yet another perspective, the lowest tax rate was imposed on 37% of the congregation members and this contribution, combined, totaled only 4% of the tax income of the community. The list of the top-ten tax payers of the community, paying 45% of the taxes, revealed the fact that these were all managers of textile wholesale companies, a textile factory, and garment retail businesses.

[412] Muir 2011, 144–145; 148–149; Muir 2009.
[413] Muir 2001, 145–146, my translation, based on Muir's translation from Yiddish to Finnish.
[414] Verotuslistat 1927–1930 (taxation lists), file 237 and 238, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.

The way businesses functioned in a family at the time was probably no different among the Jewish companies than it was for other family businesses. The owner trained the next generation, and the children working in the family firm learned how things were done. The trainee might be a more distant relative, who little by little gained more responsibility. But it was also possible that workers were not necessarily family or even Jewish. In a Jewish community so small, it would have been impossible to find only Jewish employees for all the jobs that Jewish companies needed done.

Trade registers' files and business directories (*handelskalenders*) give no details on the number of employees. It is clear that the larger companies, especially the manufacturers, would have required more employees. The Helsinki Jewish archives have pictures of the Jewish stores. Most of them show the Jewish owners and their fellow Jewish workers posing for the camera together with non-Jewish shop assistants or tailors.

There is only fragmentary evidence concerning the workforce. According to the Littoinen files, the larger manufacturers employed up to forty persons, and often had more subcontractors working from home.[415] The numbers are quite typical for manufacturers in the garment industry. It was, and still is today, an easy-to-move, labor-intensive, low-skilled field with many small manufacturers rather than big factory plants.[416] As the community was so small, the larger Jewish companies in Finland must have hired employees from the general labor markets.

The Finnish-Jewish experience differs here compared to Western Europe. Between 1880 and 1914 some 2.5 million Jews left their hometowns in Central Eastern Europe. Most of them immigrated to New York, some to London and, in fewer numbers but just as notable from the point of view of the receiving cities, others to Paris, Berlin, Canada, South America, and South Africa.[417] Before the First World War, the Jewish emigrants from the Russian Pale of Settlement and Congress Poland were hopelessly poor, but were normally skilled artisans or workers from the small textile manufacturers.[418] For the second-generation business owners in the Garment District in New York City, this exodus supplied a constant stream of men and women, who were willing to work for minimum wages. In the United States and Britain, recently arrived immigrants could find jobs at the very bottom of the production chain.[419]

Economic historian Arcadius Kahan, who was born and grew up in interwar Vilnius, gave an optimistic view of the fate of these immigrant workers in America.[420] According to Kahan's studies, many Jewish immigrant workers could, within a few years, significantly improve their income level. Many were able to save and start a business of their own, hiring those who had just arrived. After some years, the newcomer had learned English and the trade, and had established his own business.[421] Nancy L. Green, who has included women workers in her analysis, is more modest in the evaluation of the economic mobility of the Jewish immigrant workers in big cities. However, both give historical evidence to what a number of more recent immigration studies have pointed out: ethnic immigrant economies do

[415] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat. ELKA.
[416] Rath 2000; Volary 2007.
[417] Godley 2001; Kahan 1986.
[418] Kahan 1986; Green 2001.
[419] Godley 2001, 100; Feldman 1994.
[420] Kahan 1986.
[421] Kahan 1986.

not need significant social capital and complex networks; the available resources are very uneven; and those at the highest positions in the system with extended connections, both top-down and horizontally within the immigrant community, gain the most.

The numbers of Eastern European Jews who emigrated to Sweden and Denmark are less dramatic as compared with those who went to New York and London. Accounts from Stockholm recall how the distinction between the local Jews and the poor newcomers was so great that the two different groups had nothing in common.[422] There are similar stories from Copenhagen[423] as well as from Germany.[424] The newcomers tended to be more orthodox in their religious attitudes and traditions.[425] If not, they tended to be radical socialists.[426] The established Jewish communities looked down on the "poor masses" speaking "jargon" – that is, their native Yiddish with its many dialects. The newcomers felt completely alienated by the secularized Jewish families who spoke, looked, and behaved like non-Jews, the *goyim*. "*Goyishe Yidn,*" the assimilated Jews, spoke little if any Yiddish and were native speakers of their nation-states.[427] The "Western" Jews were afraid the "Jewish Jews" would, in a short time, destroy generations of effort to acquire status among the German, Danish, or Swedish educated middle class.[428] There lay between the newcomers and the established local Jews a cultural boundary as well as clear class distinctions.

The basic outline of how local business networks functioned in Helsinki was similar to its Jewish counterparts found in larger Jewish communities. The most successful merchants in the business had strong horizontal links to big customers, first to the Imperial Russian military and later to the independent Finnish administration. Simultaneously, they had tight vertical links to their community members whom they employed and subcontracted. In Helsinki, there were not necessarily class divisions between Jewish owners and their employees. The assistants with more responsibility were coached for future independent entrepreneurship. There were, however, clear cultural and economic divides between the owners of these bigger companies and the small-scale business-owners and the self-employed.

Among the Helsinki Jews, a family with an established business strove to have their children educated at the universities. Telephone directories listed not only their business and homes in desirable neighborhoods, but their summer villas as well. Family pictures possess a bourgeois charm: these families played bridge at the Jewish business club, were interested in music and literature, and travelled around Europe. Social and cultural gaps between the rich families and the poor self-employed artisans and peddlers were notable. On the other hand, in a very small community, it was impossible to set strict socio-economic criteria if Jews were to marry fellow Jews. The potential class divide was subordinate to the priority of marrying Jewish. Despite the differences, the common Jewish background tended to unite more than to divide those exhibiting socio-economic differences.

However, the established business owners in immigrant communities had ready access to cheap labor as fresh waves of immigrants, especially young people, continued to arrive with

[422] Stare 1998, 197–198, 204; Carlsson 2004, 276–277.
[423] Thing 2008.
[424] Kaplan 1991, 197–199.
[425] Wasserstein 2012.
[426] Green 1998.
[427] Wasserstein 2012, 96–97.
[428] For Stockholm and Malmö, see Stare 1998; for Gothenburg, see Attman 1981; for Copenhagen, see Thing 2008; for Weimar Germany, see Kaplan 1991; for the general picture, see Wasserstein 2012.

limited skills. In contrast, immigration in independent Finland was heavily restricted – indeed, almost non-existent. No fresh waves of Jewish immigrants filled the labor pool. Consequently, the class divisions did not evolve between newcomers and established locals within the community. So long as non-Jewish marriages were generally uncommon, the business relations would tie specifically Jewish families together. Also, the business of relatives tended to cluster together in overlapping networks of trade. While this may encourage romantic notions of family cohesion and loyalty, in reality, bad luck and mistakes made in business could destroy families. The bankruptcy of one firm could draw several others belonging to the extended family into difficulties. A personal example of this downside to family business is mentioned in Miriam Seligson's memoirs. Her wedding ceremony was held at the *Judiska köpmannaklubben*, the Helsinki Jewish Business Club. She regretted that her favorite uncle could not attend her wedding, because a business collapse had split the brothers-in-law for decades.[429]

The pool of potential spouses was quite limited in a small community. Different activities were organized for the young to meet other Jewish youth from Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri, but also from nearby communities of cities abroad. Such efforts had the unstated but quite obvious function of introducing potential future spouses. In a picture from 1930, students from the Helsinki Jewish School are aboard ship going to meet their fellow classmates at the Jewish School of Tallinn.[430] Families visited cousins in the Baltic States and Poland. Miriam Seligson recalls the trips she made to Denmark as a young girl where the family lived during the First World War.[431] Studying abroad was popular, and these foreign trips were facilitated by networks of relatives and business partners abroad. The Helsinki Jewish community of interwar Finland was not an immigrant community, but spouses brought home to Finland from abroad also brought with them their extensive foreign networks.

When Santeri Jacobsson and Jac Weinstein talked about "*Ghetto times*" they were referring to limited options that hindered fulfillment of one's dreams, as well as to social stigma and low social and political position. The published texts, unpublished manuscripts, local Jewish publications and minutes in the Helsinki Jewish archives usually refer to the Jews of Finland vis-à-vis "*other Finns.*" It is a conceptually problematic comparison. The majority of Finns lived in the countryside, had a limited education, was occupied in agriculture and forestry, and was accustomed to surviving with extremely limited material resources. The proper social reference for the Finnish Jews is therefore other urbanized groups. When Jacobsson, as well as the following generation of young Zionist activists in the early 1930s, talked about the position of the Finnish Jews, they did not compare them with Finns in general, but with the Finnish urban middle class and upper middle class.

As already pointed out in previous chapters, what made these companies "Jewish" was the fact that the ownership was shared among fellow Jewish congregation members. For transnational minorities, close family ties may extend over national borders and oceans, whereas the social relationships with next-door neighbors, customers, and friends remain superficial and shallow. Or, perhaps more accurately, this is the general belief and how it is perceived. For this is what essentially made the Helsinki Jewish business "ethnic" – the

[429] Seligson 1981.
[430] Helsingin juutalaisen seurakunnan kuva-arkisto, the picture is published in Muir & Salomaa (eds) 2009, "kuvia Israel-Jacob Schurin perheestä", Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[431] Seligson 1981.

Jewish entrepreneurs and families running the companies were perceived as different – as Jews.

7.3 Boundaries in Interwar Helsinki

When citizenship for Jews was at last possible with the passage of civil rights legislation in 1918, it became necessary to clarify who was counted "Finnish" enough to be eligible for Finnish citizenship. The leaders of the Jewish congregation had to commit themselves to a decision on who would be considered a member of the Helsinki Jewish community.[432] Interestingly, the congregation adhered to much the same definition as the pre-1918 conditions for obtaining permanent residential rights, just as the government had done in the past.[433] That the government's definition of Finnish citizenship and the Jewish congregation's qualifications for membership so closely resemble one another's pre-1918 standards indicates a clear tradition on how the Finnish Jews were defined.

The formalities of the Imperial era were employed after Finland's independence to determine the boundaries for the Helsinki Jewish community. The congregation decided in 1918 that Jewish emigrants who escaped the Russian revolution were *not* part of the Finnish Jewish community, unless the person had been born in Finland or could prove to have family ties to a Jewish community in Finland.

Defined this way, the community acquired a compact character – Finnish Jews were still considered to be "children of the Cantonists." An introduction to the 1930 "*Jewish year book"* (the primary source for the 1930 cross-section year data), outlines the community in the following way:

> *Finnish Jews are devoted sons of their people and at the same time good citizens of their home country. This favorable synthesis is an outcome of cantonist patrimony and good external circumstances. From their forefathers, the children of Jewish soldiers who, under hard oppression and unbearable conditions upon arriving from Russia, have also inherited their Eastern European mentality; and from the Finnish people have the Jews of Finland acquired their Western culture. Those who attempt to distinguish between "Eastern Jews" or "Western Jews" are forced to give up this distinction, because such a division does not apply to the Finnish Jews. They are not one or the other but both at the same time.*[434]

Exploring the various sources demonstrates how institutional changes distinguishing Jewish background from citizenship were practically implemented by wider Finnish society. Jews were treated as "a foreign element in the society." When the Littoinen clothing factory

[432] "Protokoll för Mosaiska församlingens styrelse 25.3.1919";"Prokoll för judiska församlingens extra sammanträde 20.4.1919" file 39; Årberättelse (The Annual Report) of 1919–1924, file 62, Archive for the Jews in Finland, NA.

[433] Protokoll fördt vid judiska församlingens i Helsingfors FÖRVALTNINGSRÅD sammanträde den 25, Mars 1919, Judiska församlingens i Helsingfors protokoll 1919–1929, file 39, Archive for the Jews in Finland, NA

[434] Judarna i Finland, av dr. Hirsch Strascheffsky, Judisk Årsbok för Finland 1930, 5, my translation, original in Swedish.

checked the credit status of its customers in the 1920s, for example, the details of Jewish customers were filed separately.[435] Sporadic documents of this kind provide insights as to how Jews were regarded by society in everyday contexts. Jewish customers warranted a separate file. However, when ethnic background appears in the credit status reports, it is most often treated in a neutral tone: The man in question is a Jew by his nationality; object of the inquiry is a Jew who has immigrated to Finland many years ago; Mister J. is ca. 40 years old, Jewish nationality, but for many years a Finnish citizen; A Jewish ready-to-wear retailer Haim L.; selling of ready-made-clothes, of Jewish nationality, but subject of Finland, 45 years, since little boy worked in his father's store. (…) no poor credit history, to our knowledge small credits should be possible. However one should pay attention to the fact that R. is inclined to fuss and is known as a clever businessman.

What is notable is that the same files contain also Baltic Jewish businessmen apparently without any other connection to the Finnish-Jewish entrepreneurs apart from the ethnic background. Another example of ethnic categorization rather than just objective credit status inquiry is *Elin Ekman.* She appears in the *Littoinen* files although she should not technically have been classified as a Jew. The name does not even remotely resemble anyone in the three Jewish congregations in Finland and she was a Lutheran by her religion. In 2010 *Hufvudstadsbladet* published an essay by literary critic *Michel Ekman* where he reflected on the questions of assimilation through the story of his grandfather, a furrier *Robert Ekman*. This was the second name of the grandfather, originally from a Lithuanian-Jewish family. *Boruch Elterman* converted to the Lutheran faith and was christened Robert Ekman.[436] Later he married a Helsinki-born Lutheran woman Elin. Apparently, the clerk working at Littoinen's in the mid-1920s had somehow heard of the background of Elin Ekman's husband and this was reason enough to file the wife with the Jewish customers. According to the same essay, in as late as the 1970s an Austrian business partner cut off all the business ties to the Ekman family when he learned of Ekman's Jewish roots.[437]

This being the pan-European atmosphere, it is clear that civil rights alone did not make Jews "Finnish." Some of the leading members of the Finnish business cricles, such as professor Kyösti Järvinen, had fiercely opposed Jewish civil rights less than twenty years earlier. There were several associations for retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, sales assistants, etc. The collections of printed material in the National Library of Finland include some of their printed membership lists. The lists from the interwar period tell about divisions by language, commerce, and class, but one thing that all these associations seems to have in common was that they did not have any Jewish members.[438] In some of the cases, a local Jewish businessman is listed among donators who have supported the association.[439]

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[435] Barker Littoisten verkatehdas, Littoinen, Littoisten verkatehdas, Nro 1702, Saapuneita asiakkaita koskevat luottotiedot 1925–1926, juutalaiset asiakkaat, ELKA, my translation, originals in Finnish and in Swedish.

[436] "Matze – en berättelse om assimilering", HBL 23 May 2010.

[437] "Matze – en berättelse om assimilering", HBL 23 May 2010.

[438] Helsingin kauppitaitten Yhdistyksen Jäsenet 1919; Kertomus Helsingin kauppiaiden yhdistyksen toiminnasta 1935; Kertomus Helsingin kauppiaiden yhdistyksen toiminnasta 1941; Helsingin kappayhdistykset XIII 88; Suomen liikemiesyhdistyksen jäsenet 1907, 1915, 1925, XIII Kauppiasyhdistykset, yleiset, Suomen Helsingfors Börsklubb 1929, XIII file 89, EC.

[439] For instance, A. Stiller, in an article of "Helsingin kangas- ja lyhyttavarakauppiaitten yhdistys r.y 1905–1936"; Alter Kotschack in Suomen Kenkäkauppiaiden Liitto r.y.1938 in XIII Kauppiasyhdistykset, yleiset. EC.

Civil rights did not put an end to the discussion of the "Jewish Question." In addition to domestic antisemitic publications such as the Swedish-language *Fyren*, major foreign antisemitic works such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were being circulated in Finland. *The Protocols* was published in Finland first in Swedish in 1919, then in Finnish a year later.[440] What is absolutely clear is that antisemitic literature on the role of the Jewish people in the economic life of the nation-states became widely available and read in Finland. According to a thorough study on antisemitism in the Finnish print media in the interwar period, the three main claims were that Jews ran the global financial markets; that Jews manipulated the mass media through the liberal press, film industry, and popular music; and that both capitalism and socialism were Jewish plots for world power.[441]

Finnish journals also translated and republished articles about Jews in other countries. For example, In 1933 *Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja* (The Finnish Social Bulletin) republished a Danish article *"The Economic Grouping of the Jews"* in Finnish.[442] According to this article, Jews, especially in Western Europe, had an *"aptitude for monetary speculation"* and therefore had gained advantage with the growth of capitalism.[443]

Another frequent stereotype was what was regarded as the "oriental" and questionable business methods of the "*Heikinkatu*" Jews. Antisemitic publications, but also prestigious publications like *Suomen Kuvalehti,* contained jokes about Jews with a funny accent who sold clothes.[444] The Jewish congregation generally preferred not to react publicly to such comments. An exception to this rule was made upon the occasion of the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Finland. The first Finnish edition came out in Swedish in 1919, followed by a Finnish-language edition in 1920.[445] Rabbi Simon Federbush reacted with a published rebuttal.[446]

In interwar Finland, Jews were generally considered a foreign element, not quite a part of the Finnish nation. Anti-Jewish political parties around Central and Eastern Europe were gaining power and racist rhetoric increasingly began to take practical forms. In this political climate, questions related to antisemitism naturally serve a key role for discussing social and ethnic boundaries. Historian Sharon Franklin-Rahkonen has made an interview-based study on the identity of Finnish Jews. In her interviews, elderly people shared their experiences of finding employment during the interwar period.[447]

The general impression of studies on antisemitism in Finland is that there were Finnish political parties and groups that admired and supported the goals of the Fascist and National Socialist parties abroad.[448] A number of periodicals published antisemitic material.[449] The parties who aimed to limit all social and political rights of the Jews were fractionalized and generally had little political foothold. The most influential right wing movement, *Lapuan liike* and its successor, the *Patriotic People's Movement* (IKL), was mainly anti-Communist. Its ideological pillars were closer to Italy's fascism than to National Socialism. One of the

[440] Hanski 2006, 210–217.
[441] Hanski 2006, 144.
[442] Juutalaisten ammatillinen ryhmitys, Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja, vihko 9, 1933.
[443] Juutalaisten ammatillinen ryhmitys, Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja, vihko 9, 1933.
[444] Kuparinen 1999, 271, Ekholm 2005.
[445] Ekholm & Muir 2011, 30–31.
[446] Muir 2011.
[447] Franklin-Rahkonen 1991, 125–126.
[448] Hanki 2006, 293.
[449] Hanski 2006, 34–46.

main goals of the party was to restrain the political rights of the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland.[450]

At regular intervals the linguistic boundaries between the two national languages took political forms and became a source of fierce dispute. The Swedish-speaking population in Finland was occasionally portrayed by the *Fennoman* extremists as the "*Jews of Finland.*" In an interview conducted many years later, this seems to have been somewhat of a relief to the Finnish Jews. Chaim Katz recalled in an interview on his 85th birthday, "*From that year [during the years of the Second World War] I also remember IKL, and the antisemitism they represented, but they actually turned against the Swedes [the Swedish-speaking Finns], and they luckily had not so much time for the Jews."*[451]

As to the Finnish Jews of interwar Finland, furrier and playwriter Boris Grünstein described the situation in his autobiography in the following way: "*During the war years I met many well-meaning Finns who sometimes, following high-flown and wine-inspired discussions, gave a pat on the back saying, 'As a Jew in Finland you have nothing to be afraid of. The Swedish are the Jews of Finland.'"*[452] The irony of this was that Boris Grünstein, like most Finnish Jews, strongly identified himself with the Swedish linguistic minority, along with his native-Russian and Yiddish, and was a Swedish speaker himself.

Adding further to the complexity of the situation of the Finnish Jews was their historical link to Russia.[453] Among all different groups subjected to racist stereotypes and agitation, the one most clearly exposed to discrimination were the Russians in Finland.[454] For the Finnish Jews their recent past as Russian subjects did not make things easier. One of the major antisemitic stereotypes in the Finnish press was the association between Jews and Bolsheviks.[455] Finnish Jews faced a multiple minority status, besides Swedish speaking, as both Jew and Russian.

Jews may have been of secondary significance to the political programs of the Finnish right-wing, but even a quick glance at a sample of their texts makes clear that in their world-view, the secret force behind all the evils and dangers, whether Bolshevism or international Capitalism, were the international Jews.

Historian Nils-Erik Forsgård has characterized political antisemitism as a counter-movement against the Enlightenment. Parties such as IKL were against the emancipation of Jews, other minorities and women, as well as economic liberalism, socialism, general urbanization, and secularization.[456] The problem with such a characterization is that it overlooks the relationship between modern sciences and modern racism.

Modern antisemitism was based on and employed the rhetoric of science.[457] Among the Finnish-nationalist ideologues, use of the racial taxonomy at the heart of National Socialism was eased somewhat due to the fact that Finns were not placed very high in the Nazi hierarchy of *Volk*. Swedish-speaking Finns were considered Scandinavians with pure Germanic roots, whereas Finns belonged to Semi-Mongolic peoples.

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[450] Ekberg 1991.
[451] "Chaim 'Hammo' Katz 85 år", HaKehila 5/1994.
[452] Grünstein 1988, 43–44, my translation, original in Swedish.
[453] Ekholm & Muir 2011, 29.
[454] Karemaa 1998; Fewster 2006, 242–244.
[455] Hanski 2006, 147, 199–200.
[456] Forsgård 2002, 47–69.
[457] Bauman 2000, 219–220.

Traditionally the Swedish (language) press and the Swedish party in Finland were the most consistent quarter to support the Jewish minority. Nevertheless, historian Jari Hanski has shown how some of the most influential promoters of antisemitic material in Finland were Swedish-speaking activists whose political goals were inspired by active National Socialist agents in Sweden and Germany.[458] The *Fennomans* did not hesitate to use any Swedish-language racial material as examples of a Swedish minority looking down on Finns.[459] This shows how complex the different layers of racist ideologies were in practice.

In such a climate, the Jewish community generally aimed to avoid anything that might possibly provoke or contribute to such sentiments. In 1930 the Central Committee of the Helsinki Jewish Congregation held a meeting under the title "*On discussion of the inquiry on the state of unsatisfactory things concerning commerce in Heikinkatu."*[460] The minutes reveal that the meeting decided to send a reminder advising congregation members to avoid behavior such as loud arguing or anything that might contribute and strengthen antisemitic stereotypes.

In a meeting in 1931, the Zionist Youth Organization Z.U.F. HATCHIJO took up the question of education and upbringing in the community.[461] Written in the midst of the Great Depression the Zionist Youth movement defined the problems of the community in the following way:

> *If we consider the ethical state of our congregation, we notice evident failings and lapses. Children suffer from an unsound and poor upbringing. Parents do not strive to educate their children in truthful and fair manners to an adequate degree. Nor is the upbringing of children suited to a proper attitude towards life; now and then a strong craving for easy money is already noticed among the youth at an early age.*[462]

Indeed, many Jewish ideologists of the time, from Socialists to Zionists, shared one view with antisemites: that Jews who operated in the commercial sector constituted a problem.[463] The new ideologies, Socialism and Zionism encouraged a younger generation of Jews to connect their Jewish past to more modern visions.[464] They strove to envision "a new Jew" – in effect, an image completely counter to the antisemitic stereotypes. These Jewish ideologists declared that Jews should get out of their "mental ghetto," they should be down-to-earth, practical-oriented, strong, athletic, and warlike. The young athletes of the Zionist sport club *Makkabi* were flexing their muscles in club photographs. Max Nordau's call for "*muskeljuden*"[465] was put into action on the sport fields, boxing rings, and on the mats of Helsinki.

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[458] Hanski 2006, 210–212, 288.
[459] Paavilainen 2005, 146–147.
[460] "Till behandlingen av frågan om vissa missförsållanden vid handeln vid Henriksgatan." 9 November 1930, Protokoll 1930–1934, file , Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[461] "Memorandum"; "Tillägg"; Z.U.F. Hachijo, 20 April, 1931, file 319; Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[462] "Memorandum"; "Tillägg"; Z.U.F. Hachijo, 20 April, 1931, file 319; Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[463] Wasserstein 2012; Slezkine 2004, Hauman 2001, 142.
[464] Wasserstein 2012.
[465] Stanislawsky 2001, 91; Wasserstein 2012, 191.

A well-known tendency of "exaggerated nationalism," as Bernhard Wasserstein has called it,[466] was also well represented among the youth of Helsinki. Many young Jewish men joined the Civil Guards whenever they were accepted as members.[467]

In this Orthodox Jewish community, the strong attraction to Zionism seems an apparent contradiction. A smaller group of young, male revisionists were downright anti-religious in their rhetoric.[468] Some of the young, such as the eldest daughter of Moses Skurnik, emigrated in the 1920s when Britain still granted certificates for European Jews to the Palestinian Mandate.[469] Skurnik's father donated money to plans for a Finnish colony, *Kfar Finlandia*. There were plans for a brick factory as well as import-export projects. Skurnik had plans of importing Jaffa oranges to Finland and exporting Finnish milk products to Palestine. Skurnik's sudden death in 1937 put an end to these plans. Skurnik's daughter later moved back to Helsinki and worked as a teacher of Modern Hebrew in the Helsinki Jewish School.[470]

The Jewish families were linguistically assimilated to Swedish and Finnish. The youth growing up during the interwar period were the first generation that no longer automatically used Yiddish, the native language of their parents.[471] Along with their Jewish names, many used Finnish nicknames.[472] Despite all the attention given the Zionist aspect of "the Jewish question," and despite all the donations and programs dedicated to building a Jewish state in Palestine, Zionist activities in Finland were also concerned with improving the social standing of Jews in Finland.[473] This was, in practice, what Anders Wimmer has described as shifting the ethnic boundaries by conceptualizing them in a new way.[474] This was also, in part, an ideological stance that aimed to alter anything that served as a reminder of the poverty and exclusion in Eastern Europe.

The name change process in the congregation in the 1930s serves as an example. The new family names that offered a new kind of Jewish identity were particularly recommended.[475] For example, Jankelow was changed to Jaari. The new family name sounded Finnish but also alluded to the Hebrew word *yar,* "forest." Such (quasi-)Hebrew word associations would, naturally, have been lost on the general public.

The name-change process served several purposes, as Simo Muir and I have suggested: to make everyday life in Finland easier; and to forge oneself as a "new Jew" by casting off a name associated with the alienation and poverty of the Eastern Europe past.[476] While Zionist rhetoric concerned itself mainly with the construction of a Jewish state in Palestine, on the local level there was an ongoing effort to attain a position in society where one no longer had to negotiate between Finnishness and Jewishness.

Simo Muir's study on the translations of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* into Modern Hebrew is a perfect example of a process of re-conceptualization of ethnic boundaries. On the

[466] Wasserstein 2012, 216.
[467] Smolar 2003; Jakobson 1999, 186–187; Kuparinen 2008.
[468] Muir 2009.
[469] The private archives of Moses Skurnik; On the courtesy of Samuli Skurnik.
[470] Annual reports of the Helsinki Jewish congregation, file 62, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[471] Muir 2004.
[472] Ekholm & Muir 2011.
[473] Ekholm & Muir 2011.
[474] Wimmer 2008.
[475] Ekholm & Muir 2011, 38–39.
[476] Ekholm & Muir 2011, 46–47.

centenary of the publication of the *Kalevala* folk poetry, in 1935 the Finnish Kalevala Society organized a jubilee in celebration of the Finnish nationalist spirit. The very same Finnish scholars, who in their contemporary writings considered Eastern European Jewish culture to be degenerate, could easily relate to the Zionist longing for a Jewish homeland.[477] *Poems of the Kalevala* translated into Modern Hebrew provided a useful allusion to the Biblical era. For the Finns, like the Jews in the Bible, appear in the *Kalevala* as another ancient but long-forgotten culture.

[477] Muir 2009a, 347, 355.

8. Shared and Unshared Pasts

Business historian Mads Mordhorst has pointed out that more so than remembering, writing historical narratives is a process of selection and omission.[478] History is not just about remembering, it is essentially about selecting what to remember, and hence about forgetting.[479] The Second World War and the genocides in the heart of Europe are an extreme example; in its totality it becomes an epistemological break. Jews of Finland and the Shoah form two parallel processes that are impossible to set into only one narrative. In the literature of the Cold War era, these become two separate historical narratives, as if what happened in Europe was totally separate from the lives of Jews in Finland.

Often, in historical studies, it is revealing to see what has not been written about, and what themes are not discussed. When writing about the Finnish Jews, one is, in effect, setting the parameters on what constitutes the history of Finnish Jews, as well as on who should be considered as one.

8.1 Shedding Boundaries: Post-War Memory in Retrospect

In the fall of 1944 a sudden and complete change in rhetoric occurred in Finland; any references to Greater Finland and national-minded politics faced a sudden end as the Allied Control Commission settled in Helsinki (from September 1944 to September 1947). In February 1945 within a two-week period, over 16,000 people lined up at the *Taidahalli/Konsthallen* art gallery to see an exhibition by the Soviet Union's Moscow based News Agency *TASS*.[480] The posters included photographs taken by the Soviet army on their way towards Berlin. In the first formal and public description of crimes committed in German-occupied Europe, the content was directly subordinated to the needs of Soviet war propaganda.

The Cold War years froze the latitudes of Finnish history writing about the Second World War. As historian Oula Silvennoinen has noted, by stressing the extraordinary nature of Finnish participation in the war, it was possible to maximally distance Finland from the recent past as an associate of Nazi Germany and minimize the conclusions seemingly warranted by Finland's consistent hostility to the Soviet Union during the war. Nowhere else did this exceptionality seem more obvious than in connection to the history of the brutal nature of the war in the East and the Holocaust.[481]

The Jewish soldiers who served and sacrificed for their country identified unequivocally both as Jews and as Finnish citizens. When the military conflict began in November 1939 the thoughts, loyalties, and feelings of the Jewish soldiers had not been different from any other

[478] Mordhorst 2008, 10; also Abrams 2012, 106.
[479] Ricour 2004.
[480] "*Tassin ikkunat neuvosto-Venäläinen plakaattinäyttely"* February 8−25, 1945, Taidehalli/Konsthallen Minutes, Archive of Taidehalli/Konsthallen, Taidehistorialliset asiakirja-arkistot, Ateneum.
[481] Silvennoinen 2009, 69.

soldier in the Finnish defense forces.[482] Participating in the war was exactly what young Zionists had aimed for.

Understandably, the wartime efforts of the Finnish Jews for a country allied with Nazi Germany (from June 1941 to September 1944) were condemned and questioned by Jewish communities around the world after the war ended. The Jews of Norway particularly, with half of its small Jewish population deported and killed under the German occupation, questioned the role of Finnish Jewish soldiers.[483] For Finnish Jews, the need to emphasize this distance was essential.

If the Zionist movement was strong in Finland before the war, devotion to the cause of Israel became a matter of honor for Finnish Jews after the war ended. A significant number of the Jewish veterans from Finland volunteered for the Israeli army in the 1948 war.[484] The creation of the State of Israel would have tremendous influence on what would be remembered and discussed among the Jewish communities of Northern Europe. Scholar of Religious Studies Karin Sjögren has observed a shift in content of a Jewish magazine in Sweden. Immediately after the war, the *Judisk Krönika,* published survivor testimonies and recounted the experiences of refugees. Later in the 1950s, the extermination of the European Jews was seldom directly discussed. Instead, the magazine focused on the tree-planting projects in Israel, the Jewish National Fund's collection-boxes, and the traditional Jewish celebrations. Great attention was given to the Commemoration Day of Israel.[485] Post-war Zionists promoted the image of a strong, resistant and future-oriented Jew, set in the biblical and religious landscape of Israel.

The influence of Zionist ideas also shaped the narration on the history of the Finnish Jews. It is interesting to compare Jacobsson's pamphlet written in his youth, in the pre-revolutionary Grand Duchy of Finland (1907), with the one written after the Second World War (1951). These two texts differ tellingly in the causes given as to why Jewish civil rights were rejected in Finland for several decades. In the texts written after the war, Finnish debates on the social status of the Jews have carefully set aside the rise of modern antisemitism in early twentieth-century Europe and focused, instead, on material from Imperial Russia. The 1907 pamphlet is very clear on the reasons why Finland allowed the Jewish people to stay without civil rights: the domestic antisemitic forces claimed that Jews represented all the vices and evil of the modern world.[486] A major part of his undertaking was to correct anti-Jewish conceptions in Finland. In the very first pages, Jacobsson lists what he finds the most common accusations against Jews in Finnish society: 1) Jews only love money, 2) all Jews are traders, 3) Jews avoid manual labor, 4) they hate non-Jews, 5) they are not suited to agriculture, 6) Jews tend to remain apart from society, 7) they are clever and thus dreaded, 8) they collect all the riches of the world and, finally, 9) Jews are traitors, and usurers.[487]

By contrast *The Fight for Human Rights*, written presumably over a longer period of time and published in 1951, is more restrictive in its analysis on any forms of antisemitism in Finland. The context in which the history of the Finnish Jews is set has shrunk significantly

[482] Harviainen 2000, 161–162; Rautkallio 1994; Torvinen 1989, 133–134.
[483] Harviainen 2000, 163.
[484] Torvinen 1989, 175–176.
[485] Sjögren 2001, in the English summary, 179.
[486] Jacobsson 1907, 4.
[487] Jacobsson 1907, 8–9, my translation, original in Finnish.

by the 1950s. *The Fight for Human Rights* gives the impression that the lack of Jewish civil rights was due to the authoritarian misrule of the old regime, which itself was against the will of the Finnish people. Page after page, Jacobsson cites claims, prejudices, and even purely racist views against Jews, but now as direct quotations taken from parliamentary discussions and newspapers as they were argued in public. These are contrasted with the arguments given for Jewish rights by the liberal Swedish-speaking party and by the Social Democrats. Without committing to the question of antisemitism, Jacobsson in his later work gives the impression that it was a phenomenon of the Russian period and not a topic in independent Finland.

Non-Jewish Finnish writers have accepted the role of the Finnish Jews in the war as completely non-problematic. For example, in *History of the City of Helsinki* published in 1962 Jouko Siipi reviews:

The Jewish minority in Finland has never been any sort of a problem, even though such claims have been sometimes stated forcibly, but to no purpose. The Jews associated themselves with the Finnish people and they proved this by their actions during the hard war years. Drafted into the army, the young Jewish men fulfilled their duty. All in all, 204 of them joined our war, and 22 fell. On Finland's Independence Day in 1944, a commemoration of the fallen Jewish soldiers was held in Helsinki.[488]

At the same time, Finnish authors have unconsciously taken a distanced stand to the Holocaust. Siipi continued:

Finland's Marshall Mannerheim was present. He commands great respect among the Jews in Finland as he took the only possible Finnish stand against the Jewish discrimination [sic] represented by Germans. The Jewish minority accepted Finland as their fatherland, and they were accepted as Finnish subjects.[489]

The short biographies of two notable figures, Josef Lefko [Leffkowitsch] and Ruben Jaari [Jankelow], of the 1960s and 1970s provide examples of how one's life and Jewishness in post-war Finland might be combined. Born in the early 1900s, both belonged to a generation of Finns whose youth was characterized by Nationalism.[490] Josef Lefko was the long-time president of the Helsinki Jewish congregation. Ruben Jaari was the manager-owner of the famous department store *Pukeva*.

Josef Lefko's career, interests and political ideas represent the social process of the Jewish community in the twentieth century. In his youth he was a revisionist Zionist. To this day, he is considered one of the all-time best Finnish bandy goalkeepers. During his years in the sport he experienced antisemitism. In the 1930s his suitability to represent Finland in Sweden was called into question due to his Jewish background.[491]

In the 1930s the young Lefko served as an active civil guardian. During the war, he founded the Finnish-Jewish Comrade-in-Arms Organization. The organization was excluded from the National Comrade-in-Arms Association. At that time, any possible provocation of the German ally was avoided. Nevertheless, Lefko was among those Jewish soldiers who were promoted during the war.[492]

[488] Siipi 1962, 168, my translation, original in Finnish.
[489] Siipi 1962, 168, my translation, original in Finnish.
[490] Häkkinen 2013.
[491] Muir 2010b.
[492] Muir 2010b.

Despite the disregard Zionist youth had demonstrated toward trade in the early 1930s, Lefko became a managing-owner in a fur company. In this capacity, he served as an active member of the lobbying organization of the fur industry (*Turkistuottajien liitto)*.

The career of Lefko's wife is also worth mentioning here. Born Chane Schmulowitsch, Hanna Taini became a film star during the golden age of domestic movies. Taini performed in several Finnish movies in the 1930s and 1940s.

In 1963 Lefko became president of the Helsinki Jewish community.[493] Under Lefko's leadership, the Helsinki Jewish congregation made many practical and important decisions concerning the institutional boundaries of the Jewish congregation. After years of discussion, the congregation decided to accept children from interfaith marriages as members of the congregation.[494] It was also under his leadership that the *Finnish Jewish War Veteran Association* was formed in 1981.[495] This organization, which connected the Jewish veterans under Lefko's leadership with the larger society, became a very important part of the Jewish community in the 1980s.[496]

Participation in the Finnish wars was also emphasized by other Jewish businessmen. After the Second World War Ruben Jaari developed his clothing business founded in 1933 into a department store, *Oy Pukeva Ab*, the first in the country to focus on fashion. At *Pukeva,* Jaari introduced new products such as plastic raincoats along with novel marketing strategies.[497] *Pukeva* was the first retail store in the country to offer its customer's payment plans, allowing them to make payments in installments. With its public fashion shows and modern escalators, *Pukeva* became a symbol of post-war economic recovery and development in Helsinki.[498]

[493] Torvinen 1989, 222–223.
[494] Muir 2010b.
[495] Harviainen 2000, 163.
[496] Harviainen 2000, 163; Torvinen 1989, 167.
[497] The Archives of the Department store Pukeva, CA.
[498] "Jaarin tavaratalo" Suomen Kuvalehti, Vol. 77, 1993.

Picture 2 *Jaari's Department store Pukeva in 1972, Helsinki City Museum Archives.*

As part of the image campaign for his fashion house *Pukeva*, Ruben Jaari often gave interviews to Finnish magazines. Manager-owner Jaari was invariably accompanied by his wife Irene Jaari née Friedländer. In a number of interviews and articles certain themes recur: Jaari had an international youth; during the First World War his family lived in Denmark; he studied in Germany and in France where he became interested in fashion; he established his first company *Mallio* in 1933; on a business trip to Riga he fell in love with the smart and beautiful daughter of a textile factory owner. What happened next is always formulated in the same way: in 1939 Irene Friedländer and Ruben Jaari were married in Riga; immediately after they arrived in Finland, Ruben was called to military duty; Irene joined the voluntary defense although she could not yet speak Finnish.

Interviews often discussed Jaari's family and marriage.[499] For example, in an interview entitled "How to Become a Top Businessman" Jaari recounted:

Her family had a great industrial establishment in Riga, textile factories among other things, and I met her on a business trip. She managed to get to Finland just before the war and we got married in 1939. However, instead of the planned honeymoon in America I was sent to the front.[500]

What was never explained in these interviews was why it was important that Irene Jaari come to Finland in 1939. Nothing in these interviews mentioned what happened to Latvia or its textile factories when, the following year, the country was occupied by the Germans. None of the articles about the Jaari family or *Pukeva* ever so much as hinted at the fate of Irene's

[499] "Kaisaniemen kuningas", pääkaupunki 30.8.1971, "Ruben går påaren" HBL, 10.10.1971, Mies joka ryösti prinsessan", Anna N:o 3, 13.1.1976.
[500] "Miten tullaan huipputason liikemieheksi?" Uusi maailma, 1968, my translation, original in Finnish.

family in Riga. Even the official history of *Pukeva's* remains silent on this issue.[501] It was only in the wake of *Pukeva's* bankruptcy in 1993 when *Suomen Kuvalehti* published a retrospective that the fate of Irene Jaari's family was told: "*Irene Jaari's Jewish family in Latvia had a terrible fate. All except her brother were taken to concentration camps and killed.*"[502]

8.2 Post-War Continuity

In an article from 1987 published in the congregation's newspaper HaKehila, a Jewish war veteran Max Wardi tells about a journey to Soviet Latvia. He visits a former Nazi Death Camp and says: "*If the Finnish Jews had been deported to Germany, it is very likely that some of us would have ended our days there. Although I suppose I don't belong to the softest, I could not avoid feeling deep emotions and depression when I lay some flowers on the monument there."*[503]

The fate of the Jewish refugees that Finland handed over to the Gestapo during the war, the problems of the few Holocaust survivors who ended up in Finland after the war ended, and the lost relatives and friends belonged to themes that were hardly ever mentioned or even referred to in written accounts from the 1950s to the 1980s.[504] Compared to such controversial memory processes, narrating the interconnection between post-war ethnicity and occupation may seem uncomplicated, if not trivial. However, the connection between the rise of National Socialism and "*pariah capitalism*" or *economic antisemitism* has rendered any discussion of Jews in the post-war economy extremely sensitive. Given these understandable challenges to a post-war narrative, it is nevertheless important to attempt to address the interconnection between post-war ethnicity and occupation.

The master narrative of the Helsinki Jewish community maintains that the "rag trade" was a relic of the past, a humble occupation forced upon the Jews by legal restrictions. According to this narrative, once such a barrier to the occupations was removed by civil rights Jews moved out into the wider world of commerce and professional life. Social mobility would then follow economic mobility. The concept of forced entrepreneurship is defining to this narrative. In reality, there was a considerable degree of continuity in the occupational choices made by Jews in pre- and post-war Helsinki. After the Second World War, the business structure of the local Jewish community was one of the very few things that did *not* change.

In Bo Ohlström's Master's thesis he described the social classes he observed within the community in the early 1950s and 1960s. Based on his survey and interviews, Ohlström was able to divide the community into three groups according to economic and social status.[505]

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[501] Luhtala and Hakola, 2006.
[502] "Jaarin tavaratalo", SK 39, Vol. 77, 1 October 1993.
[503] Max Wardi: "Det judiska Riga", HaKehila 1/1987.
[504] Studies on Finland's role in the Holocaust have been established by two seminal works by Elina Sana (until 1985 Suominen): *Kuolemanlaiva s/s Hohenhörn: Juutalaispakolaisten kohtalo Suomessa*, published for the first time in 1979, and *Luovutetut: Suomen ihmisluovutukset Gestapolle*, from 2003. On the contribution of Sana's works to the Finnish memory-culture and the debates they initiated, see Tilli 2013 and Kvist-Geverts 2013.
[505] Ohlström 1960, 58.

The first group consisted of managing directors and their wives. These families owned the larger enterprises in the textile business. They were wholesale traders and ready-to-wear retailers at large stores and department stores. To this category also belonged some successful lawyers and doctors. Their living standard was very high. Almost all owned a car and had domestic help. In the second group, the predominant occupation was also that of manager, but the companies were smaller and the income level was lower. In addition, the second group included more wage-earners, primarily engineers. The third group comprised the workers, "*most of them shop assistants.*" Their living standard was low. While some managed quite well, many lived on the social assistance of the community, especially in times of economic hardship.[506]

Due to the communal taxation reform of the early 1960s, the Jewish congregation in Helsinki created an extra taxation list for 1961. When the lists of the 1930s are compared to those of 1961, it is evident that the income gap in the community had widened over thirty years. Now one member paid 10% of all the taxes, taxes paid by 10% of the congregation accounted for more than 60% of the tax income. Aside from a lawyer who owned a law office, the names of the top 10 contributors belonged to owners of ready-to-wear wholesale and retail companies, factories, and fur manufacturers and exporters.[507]

Post-war continuity of the occupational profile is, perhaps, less surprising when one considers the general development of the post-war garment retail, wholesale, and manufacturing industry. From a practical standpoint, there was little reason for someone with years of experience and knowledge of the business to abandon it in the post-war years. In the few written histories of the Jewish companies, it is mentioned that, in the regulated post-war economy, firms which had been in business before the war were entitled to larger import quotas.[508]

The decades following the war up until the early 1970s were generally a time of favorable economic growth.[509] Well into the late 1970s, Helsinki was among the most notable industrial towns of Finland. In the 1960s one-fifth of all Finnish industrial production took place in Helsinki.[510] According to the economic census of 1964, in terms of personnel, manufacture of apparel and footwear was the third most important branch of industry in Helsinki, after electrical manufacturing and printing presses.[511] In terms of total sales, it was the second most important branch of industry. In terms of the sheer number of premises dedicated to the manufacture of apparel and footwear, the garment industry was number one.[512]

Post-war companies in the garment industry continued to perform the various tasks necessary to get a product to market. The general economic census in Helsinki remarked: "*in regards to the ready-to-wear ('confection'), fur industry in most cases any clear-cut categorization between wholesale, retail, and manufacturing was impossible to make."*[513]

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[506] Ohlström 1960, 58.
[507] Taksoituslautakunta, veroluetteloita 1962–1964, 1966, 1968; "Skattebetalare över 40 000 sk.öre år 1961", file 244, Archives of the Jews in Finland, NA.
[508] "Window shopping i Helsingfors,HaKehila; Anglo-Nordic 2005; Ala-Pöllöinen, 2005.
[509] Hjerppe 1989, 49.
[510] Rahikainen 1985, 63, 65.
[511] The General Economic Census in Helsinki 1964, 107.
[512] The General Economic Census in Helsinki 1964, 21.
[513] The General Economic Census in Helsinki 1964, 22.

There were many Jewish-owned businesses which were not directly involved in garment wholesale or retail but existed to serve the family business cluster. Businesses such as the Americano laundry chain provided garment-related services.[514] Business-to-business backup services were characteristic of the post-war economy. These included companies that took care of accountant services and duties,[515] advertising,[516] and a company that specialized in supplying business gifts, such as trendy customized shopping bags, etc.[517]

The outline of the traditional Jewish business was almost unchanged from that of the interwar period. There was less overlap, as stores increasingly specialized in a wider variety of industry products. This trend most likely corresponded to the development of consumer markets in post-war Finland. There were not only separate shops for menswear, women's wear, and children's wear. Stores now specialized in fashion, knitwear, sportswear, shoes, glasses, hats and cosmetics. However, for the Jewish-owned business, the model of a family business cluster was still prevalent.

Needless to say, not all Jewish business was in the traditional field of the "rag trade." For example, the Nemes family expanded into the boat-building business. The family used to run a textile factory and wholesale business. Together with the merchant family Jaaris, they purchased a small Helsinki-based shipyard company in 1944. *Vator* had been established just before the outbreak of the war in 1938. Under its new executive director Jussi Nemes, *Vator* achieved a rapid new start. *Vator* built boats for the Soviet Union as a part of Finland's war repayments. The company also exported fishing boats to Iceland.[518] A history of the company recounts that Nemes was a sailor and recognized opportunity in the growing market in the United States for racing yachts. This was to become an important part of *Vator's* production.[519]

Another example of a new branch of business after the war was the Anglo-Nordic Company. This pioneer of many new products in post-war Finland was responsible for building the first Finnish combustion engine and organizing the first Finnish television broadcast in 1950.[520] Its real success was in obtaining the license for production and marketing license for Reynolds Flyers ballpoint pens in Finland. Anglo-Nordic was an international business from its conception, with independent sister companies located in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and England.[521] Harry Orvomaa's *Scandia Music* was one of the biggest companies in the domestic music industry in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1972, Orvomaa sold the company to his main competitor Fazer music.[522]

However, of the stores in the center of Helsinki, those that flourished most were the few large textile retailers.[523] Within the Helsinki Jewish community, the focus remained on the traditionally Jewish garment trade. In the 1960s one could take a walk in the center of

[514] Americano (1926); Turkis ja Lakki (1928); Helsingin Nahkajäte (1940); Toiminimi Keini (1940); Turkispalvelu – Pälstjänst (1943).
[515] E. Schapiro huolinta-Spedition (1934); Helsingin Tuonti- ja Vienti (1935); Suomen tavaraclearing (1949).
[516] For example, Mainostimisto Rec – Reklambyrå Rec (1940).
[517] Laatuvalmiste OY (1951).
[518] Ala-Pöllänen 2005.
[519] Ala-Pöllänen 2005.
[520] Oy Anglo-Nordic Ab 1935–2005.
[521] Oy Anglo-Nordic Ab 1935–2005.
[522] Muikku 2011, 103–120, 109.
[523] Rahikainen 1985, 59.

Helsinki and count 17 Jewish clothing stores and boutiques, a number of smaller Jewish-owned shops for hats, children's clothing, furs and textiles, as well a laundry chain.[524] Particularly notable were the furriers. There were a few bigger companies such as Grünstein's and Lefko's *Turkistuottajat OY* that specialized in the export sector. Smaller ateliers made customized items. Their subcontractors made repairs and refurbishments.

In 1972 a Finnish company *Yritystieto Oy* published a list of the 1,500 largest companies in Finland as ranked by sales. The directory includes the 1,000 largest industries and the 500 largest trading companies.[525] Among the 1,000 largest industrial companies, there were a few Jewish-owned companies from Turku (*Oy Millner & Goldberg*). Of the Helsinki Jewish companies, only three made the list: Jaari's department store *Oy Pukeva* (trading companies)*, Oy Textil Ab,* And the boatbuilding company *Oy Vator.*

If Jaari's *Pukeva* was an exceptional symbol of modernity, most companies were small, had always been small, and remained small in the tradition of the small Jewish family shop. It is difficult to assess relatively small companies in retrospect and based on fragmentary sources. Apparently, the local impact of the bigger companies was so noticeable as to place them in a national ranking. In post-war Finland, it is conceivable that many family businesses might actually have preferred to keep off such lists. To remain unobtrusive, small but thriving, might well have made a sensible business strategy at the time.

Although the business structure remained much the same as it always had been – primarily family clusters of small garment shops, a few larger firms – clearly much else in the Helsinki Jewish community, as in the whole of Finland, was changing. One notable difference was in the way the Jewish manager-owners were now regarded as part of the Finnish entrepreneurial class. A number of Jewish companies were considered bellwethers of Finnish consumer markets, whether in fashion, the music industry, or racing yachts. They were characterized by broad international contacts with western, particularly Anglo-American, trendsetters and innovators. In the 1930s "*cosmopolitanism*" and "*foreign elements*" were anathema to prevailing ideologies. After the Second World War the tone changed dramatically. "*Western winds*" and "*new ideas*" were now welcomed as boosts to the Finnish culture and economy. Jewish manager-owners were associated, not with their Jewishness, but with bringing new ideas to this distant Nordic country.

[524] "Window-shopping i Helsingfors", HaKehila 1997.
[525] 1500 largest companies in Finland in 1972.

8.3 Remembered as Poor, or Not at All

In the early 1960s Aili Ahde-Kjäldman offered a perspective of the Helsinki Jews in her account of fin-de-siècle Helsinki. Having described how a Jewish Narinkka merchant visited their house (quoted in Chapter 3), she continued:

> *She [the Narink-merchant] was perhaps one of the foremothers of her race among us. Her son ran a business at the Heikinkatu Jewish stores standing in front of their stores asking people to come in. Perhaps he was even an owner. Her grandson went to Realschule, took a Swedish name and owned big garment stores. His children studied at the university and married Finns mixing with the rest of the folks. This generation successfully participated in the clubs of crafts and commerce.*[526]

Here is a concise depiction of a family's climb up the social ladder, an upward social mobility across the generations. The narrator presumes an upward social mobility for all members of the community with certain rungs placed one above the other. According to this view, the Jewish community eventually integrates into Finnish society through social evolution: the first generation starts out with its foreign culture and social conditions; the second generation is able to meet the environment with more qualifications; the third attends Finnish schools; and finally, the fourth is able to "mix with the rest of the folks" in Finnish society.

As discussed at the beginning of this work, one logical consequence of blurred ethnic boundaries is that one's Jewish background was no longer considered by the larger society. Post-war public records no longer specified religion or ethnicity. In fact, this development exemplifies the very definition of blurred ethnic boundaries.

This also becomes evident if we look at narrative on the Finnish clothing industry. Finnish economic history has shown little interest in the small-scale garment industry and trade. Histories of the larger Finnish industries abound. Paper mills, shipyards, cable and electric companies, banks and insurance companies, telecommunications have all merited the historian's attention. Larger merchant houses occasionally publish their own company retrospectives. The role of textile factories in the industrialization process has been recognized by scholars. However, its counterpart the "rag trade," ready-to-wear manufacturing, and retail with its fluid, complicated, subcontracting networks, has remained on the margins of the discipline.

One of the only studies made of the Finnish ready-to-wear industry covers roughly the same time period as my research. *Kansakunnan vaatettajat (Clothing the Nation,* in Finnish) is a popular history compiled by the Finnish organizations of garment and textile manufacturers in the 1990s. At the time of its publication the garment and textile industries were undergoing a process of heavy down-sizing.[527] Major structural changes were taking place in the Finnish economy in general, and in the field of ready-to-wear in particular. In the 1960s Finland still received investments from Swedish textile manufacturers. In the 1970s businesses began to relocated and outsource to countries with cheaper labor markets like Portugal.[528] Since the 1990s the Finnish garment industry almost entirely outsources its sewing work, subcontracting to low-cost laborers all over the world.[529] Thereby,

[526] Ahde-Kjäldman 1964, 94, my translation, original in Finnish.
[527] Lappalainen & Almay 1996.
[528] Rahikainen 2007.
[529] Moilala 2006.

understanbly, Kansakunnan vaatettajat (*Clothing the Nation)* presents a history and an introduction to the art of Finnish fashion with a distinctly nostalgic tone.

In a work dealing with the development of the garment industry, it is reasonable to expect some influential Jewish-owned company names to arise. It is difficult to conceive of any history of the industry that does not give a nod to the role the Jewish family businesses have played. However, this work Kansakunnan vaatettajat (*Clothing the Nation)* scarcely perceives, let alone acknowledges, a Jewish presence in the industry. Indeed, the work looks at each section of the garment industry in turn. For each section, the regional players are introduced, from Helsinki all the way up to Lapland. The only historical information concerning any of the Jewish-owned companies named in the book is a brief mention of Grünstein's roots in pre-1917 St. Petersburg. The names of other Jewish-owned companies appear only as regards their modes of production and types of models and style.[530]

According to the book, the Finnish garment industry is rooted in the 1910s: In 1910 a Master of Philosophy Heikki Kestilä left his post as a teacher and took over the management of his father Henrik Kestilä's 'textile and yarn store' established in Turku 1867. He noticed that the textile stocks in the town were too large, even to be sold at a reduced price. From this, he got the idea to produce ready-to-wear. The company was reestablished on 11th of August in 1911 with the name Suomalainen Pukimo. This is where the birth of the Finnish garment industry has been located.[531]

In another section, a hat factory is based in Jyväskylä, *A. Fredrikson Oy* (1887), is named as "*the oldest company in the domestic garment industry."*[532] These are famous Finnish companies, whose names deserve to be mentioned in any book about the Finnish fashion and ready-to-wear business. The absence of "Jewishness" from the narration is not, in itself, a problem. What is striking, however, is the near total absence of any of the Jewish-owned companies of the turn-of-the-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What is striking is the absence in this narration of the integral role these companies played in the history of ready-to-wear, fur, and textile companies in pre-Second World War Finland. Helsinki is referred to as "*the city of fashion.*" Yet the Jewish *konfektion*s warrant a word in the section discussing turn-of-the-century Helsinki and its first companies. No mention is made of such significant companies as those owned by Strascheffskys, Seligsons, Skurniks, Pergaments, Drisins or Rungs. For that matter, none of the Tatar or Russian families active in turn-of-the-century urban business were mentioned either.

Jews remain equally unacknowledged in other areas of Helsinki history. A number of influential musicians, authors, and athletes go unnoticed in Helsinki cultural histories. The Manuel brothers were Jazz legends. Three of the six performers in the most popular dance orchestra of its day were Jewish. Isaac Skurnik recorded for Master's Voice as Aarne Vianto. Singer Nina Rubanowitsch was better known as Nina Ronni.[533] The Jewish sports club *Makkabi* figured prominently in top Finnish athletic competitions of the 1930s and 1940s and yet is practically absent from the histories of Finnish sports.[534]

[530] Lappalainen & Almay 1996.
[531] Lappalainen & Almay 1996, 27.
[532] Lappalainen & Almay 1996, 191.
[533] Jaakko Furman: "Finlands judiska dans- och jazzmusiker", HaKehila 1/1984; "Musiikki ja sen vaikuttajat Suomen juutalaisessa yhteisössä", Hakehila 1/1993.
[534] Gashe & Muir 2013, 142–143.

In post-war Finnish literature “Jewishness” is absent. However, with the shedding of ethnic boundaries, as “Jewishness” is overlooked or intentionally omitted, Jews themselves, it seems, tend to disappear from the memory narratives. Shedding the ethnic categorization requires negotiation: a position in Finnish society has, in practice, been exchanged for a position in history. The Jews of Helsinki have either been remembered as poor, or they have not been mentioned at all.

9. Conclusion: Boundaries of an Urban Minority

The history of transnational communities by definition consists of multiple spatial contexts: local, national, and transnational. Consequently, the history of any transnational community can always be set into alternative frameworks: the focus can be on the local sphere or on transnational developements across large geographical distances. Thus the relevant units of analysis for transnational minority communities do not necessary follow the events highlighted in the national historical narratives. More often than not, the history takes different tracks accordingly.

The Second World War, Jews in Finland, and the Holocaust are one extreme example of such a developement. The Jewish families in the towns of Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri had for decades been Russian subjects living in the Finnish territory. In the interwar period, they were generally considered as being Finnish citizens of "Jewish" nationality," as this interwar term indicates. The Second World War has been taken as the period that "nationalized" Jews in Finland.

This history as a reliable "national minority" becomes sensitive when regarded from the perspective of the parallel history of near-total destruction and annihilation of European Jews simultaneously during the phase of war when Finland was allied to Germany. The historical composition of the Finnish Jews serves as an example of how shifting contexts affect historical narration. The Second World has been the momentum of a shared past that ultimately allows one to conceptualize the Jews in Finland as Finnish Jews. The very same process disconnects the history completely from the framework the Helsinki Jewish community unquestionably belonged to prior to the Shoah. The two contexts – national and transnational – become unrelatable.

Yet, both realities are part of the history of Jewish families in Finland. This inevitable contradiction is transcended by outlining the focus on the local city level. The Jewish families in Helsinki are among the very original "Helsingforsare" – there are not many families in Helsinki with roots dating back to the 1860s, let alone earlier. Seen from this perspective, there is a prevalent historical continuity. The local-level approach, with the city of Helsinki as an analytical framework, offers ways to tackle the past and to deal with inevitable contradictions between the different contexts. Therefore the focus of the study has been on the boundaries of an urban minority.

Standard definitions of ethnic identities often include the idea of an imagined or real shared past.[535] This stress on the past brings history as a scholarly discipline into the very core of ethnic-relation studies. According to Anders Wimmer, one way to shift ethnic boundaries is to conceptualize them in a new way. This study has been a long-term analysis of such a process. Focused on one city and one community has facilitated the study of how multilayered history is conceptualized as coherent narratives. Moreover, it also allows an empirical anchorage for a more detailed analysis on the developement of ethnic boundary-drawing.

Ethnic studies often focus on processes with growing numbers of immigrants, and thereby assumed increasing cultural heterogeneity, and increased ethnic boundary demaracations. Naturally, ethnic relations with fluid and flexible boundaries are no less natural than fixed

[535] Wimmer 2008, 973, more precisely p. 985.

and categorized ones, only studying them is more demanding. Historical accounts tend to reflect what has been considered relevant information by the contemporaries. What has been documented and filed reflects institutional changes. The sources include hints on previous boundary-drawing; in other words, while distinctions at one point of time are very visible and leave many sources for future historians to use, at other times the sources are "mute" about ethnic background.

In a Christian society the ideas on Judaism and images of Jews as a people were independent and unrelated to local reality. Finnish journals translated articles on the economic role of Jews in other European countries. The European-wide discussions of the role of Jews in modern life were thus also followed and debated in Finland. In such an ethno-political climate, Jewishness was not just a personal identity, but constituted a category that was set from outside. Both literature on ethnic entrepreneurship and contemporary writings about Jews in Finland assume a relationship between occupational profile and ethnic boundaries. For a long time, Jews in Finland were associated with their trade. Contemporaries writing about Jews in Finland did not use concepts of ethnic boundaries but did consider questions related to occupational profile as one of the key questions in modern societies. This is what makes Jewish occupations so intestesting. Therefore this study started with occupational boundaries.

For the established narration, the situation of Jews in Finland prior to 1918 has been the critical point which leaves little reasons for further explorations: Jews were in business because no other options were available to them. The Edict on the means for gaining a livelihood allowed for Jews was renewed as late as in 1888. Jews living in Finland could not own land, could not act as a witness in court, and their means of gaining a livelihood were limited and based on arbitrary rules. It was never formally removed before the Jewish Civil Rights Act in 1918. While this is also my starting point, I have been interested in the selectiveness in the way this history has been traced out.

The Jewish community of Helsinki has been an important part of the town throughout the research period, but only since the Second World War has it become part of the Finnish society as well. In the post-war accounts on the history of the Finnish Jews, the stress has always been on the restrictions, not on general attitudes towards Jews in the Finnish society. Therefore, not surprisingly, when the history of a local Jewish community is set into part of the history of a nation-state it is also given as unique, with no counter-part in any other Jewish community. What I have done in this work is to set the historical uniqueness into a historical context.

9.1 Occupations Re-creating Ethnic Boundaries?

From the 1870s onwards, when the legal position of the Jews in Finland was negotiated and debated, one of the main arguments against Jewish civil rights was the protection of the domestic markets from the Jews, spiced with examples of how Jews were already gaining too much dominance in certain fields of business in Finland. When Finnish scholars translated and presented the works of their peers in academia concerning the Jews of Europe they were discussing nothing less than the origins (and future) of modern society and capitalism. The interesting question here is, how did it affect the ways the economic profiles of the local Jewish communities have been narrated?

The pro-Jewish civil rights arguments leaned on the idea that the typical Jewish business was enforced self-employment, and if all the obstacles for legally competent full membership in the society were removed, Jews would no longer stay in the "rag trade." Many of the Zionist activists were equally convinced that the occupational structure, with retail, wholesale, and manufacturing as the main means of gaining a livelihood, was an obstacle for a better social status of the Jews. Young Zionist activists in interwar Helsinki found the "poor upbringing" as the main problem in their community. In short, whether pro or against Jewish civil rights, whether antisemitic or Zionist, socialist or conservative, many contemporaries shared a conviction that the so-called "Jewish occupations" were problematic, and that Jews should find more "productive" occupations.

The sustained narrative had a remarkable impact on the popular and scholarly literature on Jews in Finland, and thereby on how ethnic boundaries have been conceptualized. The literature on the Finnish Jews has attributed the occupational profile in petty entrepreneurship, the clothing industry, retail and wholesale simply to restrictive local policies. The old "Jewish" marketplace Narinkka has come to present a symbol of the poverty and alienation imposed on Jews of those times. What is interesting is the narration that emphasizes the aspirations to change. From 1907 until the 1980s, authors seem to have been witnessing the next generation giving up the old means of gaining a livelihood. The references to a Jewish occupational profile in the local sources regarded entrepreneurship and trade as something dubious, and the narrative holds onto an idea of the business being of a small and insignificant nature.

By the 1970s, the Jewish community had an established middle-class position in the city of Helsinki. With combinations of public and congregational records, I was able to compose an occupational profile of the Helsinki Jewish business community for three different cross-section years following the important historical changes that shaped the community. These occupational profiles provide empirical data for examining issues of narration and identity across a long period of time. The occupational profile combined with the data on Jewish-owned companies lays bare a remarkable continuity. The small Helsinki Jewish community did not dominate the garment business in Helsinki. However, it is safe to say that the "rag trade" dominated the local Jewish life. Small-scale, family-owned business in the garment manufacture, retail, and wholesale proved to be the part of local Jewish life that did *not* change.

There never was a time when all Jews were bound to petty entrepreneurship. Never was there a time when all Jews in Helsinki were poor, retired soldiers trading second-hand clothing at the Narinkka marketplace. All Jews permanently living in Finland were connected to the Russian military in one way or another, yet among them were individual doctors,

tailors, engineers, musicians, and workers. In the collective memory of local Jews, Narinkka was their ghetto, the local symbol of the marginal social status, the ethnic stigma, the alienation, the arbitrary social policies, and the limited ability to control one's own life. While this is of course true for those retired soldiers and their widows who sold second-hand clothing and wares at Narinkka marketplace, the image of poverty does not apply to those business figures who provided uniforms to the Russian military and thereby also contributed to the ready-to-wear manufacturing, retail, and wholesale in Finland.

After gaining their civil rights, no immediate escape from the "Jewish trades" took place; on the contrary, there was an increase in the number of new business set-ups. Even after the Second World War, the changes in the occupational profile were slow. This is not astonishing as such; occupations tend to be inherited and children of entrepreneurs are likely to continue in business. The changes in the occupational profile followed general developments in the city of Helsinki. From the late nineteenth century all the way up to the late twentieth century there were little Jewish-owned retail stores along the commercial streets in the center of Helsinki. In the side-streets, there were Jewish-owned manufacturers, wholesalers, and import-export agencies. The cohorts drawn from the three cross-section years portray certain changes, as shown in Chapter 4. The occupational profile did become more versatile. However, considering the long time span, and especially considering the predominant idea of "forced entrepreneurship," the occupational profile remained relatively unaltered, especially in terms of self-empolyment and entrepreneurship, as shown in Chapter 5.

Do occupational boundaries re-create and strengthen ethnic boundaries? According to my data the Jewish occupations did not change dramatically. What changed was the social position of the Jewish entrepreneurs, not their occupations.

What happened over time was a shift in how the Jewish businessmen were perceived: by their Jewishness or by occupation. Over time the ethnic background simply lost relevance, and the Jewish background lost salience in the local society. This comes up when the business catalogues from different decades are compared to one another. In the collection of interwar business associations, there were no Jewish businessmen.[536] A similar collection of names from 1948 includes short biographies of six Jewish businessmen. Each of them had already been active in the 1930s.[537] A decade later, in the early 1960s, business catalogs included also Jewish names. The change that has taken place is that of the social positions of these Jewish managing-owners. By the 1960s the Jewish entrepreneurs no longer stick out as "Jewish." They were now representative of the various industries in which they operated.[538] Instead of being businessmen of the "Jewish business club" they were entrepreneurs in the Finnish fur industry, ready-to-wear branch, textile trade, Finnish fairs, and export organizations. Many of the Jewish businessmen now chaired positions in the Finnish lobby organizations.[539] The major change was not in the occupational profile, but the tacit approval of Jews as a part of the the Finnish business circles. Therefore, according to the results of

[536] Finlands affärsmän 1930; Finlands affärsmän 1936 [Businessmen in Finland].
[537] Suomen liikemiehiä–Affärsmän i Finland [Buinessmen in Finland], 1948.
[538] Liikemiehiä, talouselämän johto- ja luottamushenkilöitä [Businessmen, leaders and persons elected to positiond of trust in the commercial and industiral life of FInland], Sininen kirja 3, 1960.
[539] For instance the above mentioned Ruben Jaari was an active member in many of the lobby associations, Ruben Jaarin Ansioluettelo 1977 (Ruben Jaari's Curriculum Vitae), puheet, Pukevan järjestön lehtileikearkisto (Pukeva's Press Clip Archive, CA; The manager-owners of a fur company Turkistuottajat Josef Lefko is also the chair of the Finnish furrier's association, Muir 2010.

this research, I argue that occupational boundaries do *not* strengthen ethnic boundaries. In the section that follows, I will draw out the conclusions in support of such a claim.

9.2 Conceptualizing Boundaries in a New Context

In the history of European Jews, the Holocaust forms an epistemological break. Seven decades later, we can begin to analyze how it contributed to the collective understanding of the history of those Jewish communities in Europe that were *not* directly subject to destruction.

It is important to point out that all published history on Jews in Finland is published after the Second World War and, thus, is seen through the lenses of the post-war world. It is not only important to see what has been written, but when and in what context the writing has been done. For the history of the Finnish Jews the context was Cold-War Europe within Jewish life and culture in Scandinavia. Therefore nearly all the texts written about Jews of Finland – and thereby shaping the idea of these Jewish communities as *the Finnish Jews* – began with the idea of uniqueness: "the history of the Jews of Finland is extraordinary, with no counterpart."[540]

These studies emphasize the uniqueness of the Finnish-Jewish communities. Yet, the uniqueness of Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri Jewish families only became so in the extraordinary situation during the war years.

In any scholarly subject, the questions being asked determine the relevant context. Inevitably, if history is written from the perspective of the nation-state as the natural unit of analysis, the transnational networks become subordinate to the national ones. One way to shape the historical boundaries, thereby fading out ethnic boundaries, has been to ask only questions that concern Finnish history. In this way the Jewish history becomes part of the Finnish history, while the Jewish past is lost. This becomes especially evident in relation to the means of gaining a livelihood and occupational choices.

The history of Jews as Russian subjects has been studied as a local question. As I have shown in this study, the edicts set by the Finnish government have been very central for the local Jewish life. The influence of the legal restriction imposed on Jews can by no means be neglected. However, careful analysis of the written history of the local Jews unfolds contradictions.

While the occupational profile was shaped by the restriction, Jewish business in Helsinki was by no means exceptional. The rag trade in Finland, the connection between the Jewish community and the textile and garment industry was definitely not a Finnish phenomenon, but exactly the opposite: Jewish business in Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri was connected to Jewish networks elsewhere around the world. A typical Jewish store in Helsinki could as well have been located in pre-Second-World-War Tallinn, Stockholm, Berlin, London, Paris, Toronto, or New York.

The literature has never contextualized the occupations within a broader framework. In this way, the context of the Jewish social and occupational profile has been overlooked. Whatever the reasons for it, the occupational profile of the Helsinki Jewish community had

[540] Harviainen 2000.

features typical of other transnational minority communities. Without this context, the discussions on Jews, political actions for and against Jews, and the debate about the role of "Jews" in the Finnish economy in the early part of the twentieth century becomes incomprehensible.

In the writings of the history of Jews in Finland, references to subjects that problematize the urban middle-class position have been carefully and consciously distanced. Local expressions of antisemitism have been one such theme. The other, interrelated with this first one, is the Eastern European Jewish history. This willful ignorance is also a historically rooted decision.

In Helsinki, the ideological focus of many of the active members of the Jewish community was strongly influenced by Zionist aspirations. In the previous research, little attention has been paid to the ideas of Santeri Jacobsson or the leaders of the community, and their ideological standing. The community was small but by no means was it isolated from the fluctuations of the Jewish world. The deep political contradictions dividing the Jewish communities across Europe from different religious movements to Bundist socialism and revisionist Zionism were followed and discussed in Helsinki. All this affected how the history and social standing of Jews has been perceived, remembered, and interpreted. The "mainstream narrative" by the Finnish Jews has been heavily influence by the general Zionist attitudes within the community.

In the post-war context, gaining a position as a part of the Finnish urban middle class has demanded shedding the Jewish past and the parallel historical processes of other Jewish communities. Narrowing the analysis on the local conditions and laws also dismisses the role of modern antisemitism in these debates. The need to avoid fueling antisemitic discourses affected the way contemporary Jewish authors wrote about the occupational structure of their community. After the Holocaust this avoidance helped to decontextualize the history of Finnish Jews from that of the widespread destruction of European Jewish culture and life. What remained completely silenced was the fact that while Finnish Jews were not exterminated in the Holocaust, their relatives, friends, acquaintances, and professional networks were largely destroyed.

In other words, simultaneously with the process in which Jewishness lost its relevance in everyday encounters, and during which ethnic boundaries between Jews and non-Jews became fuzzy, if not completely absent, the history of Finnish Jews became detached from its historical context – its Yiddish-language and orthodox Jewish European roots. The narrated history, as Finnish Jews, drew a sharp boundary between the presence and the past of the community.

9.3 A Collective story vs. Urban History

The local Jewish entrepreneurship had features that apply to many standard definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs – especially in the form of clustered family-owned business networks. I argue, however, that one should be very careful in emphasizing ethnicity in general and Jewishness in particular. As discussed in Chapter 5, ethnic entrepreneurship is a form of family business. In fact, when regarded as a family business any prefixes referring to ethnicity or Jewishness, seem contrived.

What essentially made the Helsinki Jewish business "ethnic" – that is, what made the Jewish entrepreneurs and families running the companies to be considered as different – was that they were Jews. Yet is there anything that would make them different from other similar, entrepreneurs? This last question remains largely unanswered, because there simply are not enough studies to make "a control group," from other family-owned retailers, manufacturers, and wholesalers. The "rag trade," as such, has been regarded as too marginal to merit attention in discussion of its role in the garment industry.

Due to the small size of an average company in the garment wholesale, retail, and manufacturing, the field is often ignored, as compared to big business such as in electrification, paper mills, iron works, and shipbuilding yards. It was, however, a significant employer in Helsinki.

The petty entreprenerus and tailors occupy a different category; this partly made the "Jewish" occupations so problematic for the contemporaries to separate and to evaluate. This controversiality of the local Jewish business profile crystallizes in the use of the term "rag trade." It has a connotation to low social position and poverty. Yet for those involved in the "rag trade" its connotation seems much more ambivalent and many-sided.

A feature that seems to be missing in all layers of the history of Jewish families in Finland is the fact that their "Jewish" occupational profile resembles typical urban professions and trades. In a predominantly agrarian country, the Jewish occupational profile of course stood out as compared to that of the entire nation. For a completely urban population, any comparisons should of course include other urban populations, not the patterns of the Finnish countryside. Contextualising Jewish family business in the local setting would require a better understanding on how small-scale family business developed in Helsinki. This is, however, a largely unexplored part of Finnish economic history.

As Jan Rath has remarked, from Marx to Schumpeter and Weber, the idea was that capitalist firms would grow and this process would be inevitable.[541] Only since the 1980s, have business historians realized that family business has served as an important part of liberal economies. Small and middle-sized firms have not disappeared. They still have an important role.[542] Whether we talk about ethnic business, gendered economies, or family business, it means that throughout my research period, it was positioned on the social margins of contemporary analysis.

The garment industry was *the* beginning of the Industrial Revolution writ large, and remained so until the 1990s as the last of the industrial businesses in big cities.[543] Small-scale industry is not only important in the beginning of the industrialization: it is also the

[541] Rath 2002, 5.
[542] Colli 2003, 22–26.
[543] Green 1997.

industry that has proved wrong the visions of many twentieth-century scholars: Unlike what was expected by theorists of the twentieth century, in the service and garment industry, the Small and medium size sector has even increased also in advanced economies during the twentieth century. The rag trade and "Pariah Capitalism" have proved to oppose the scenarios of the major sociological thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[544]

In this study, I quoted three memories written by middle- and upper-class gentile women who grew up in turn-of-the century Helsinki. All of these women had extended roots and kinship networks abroad: two of these three women spoke German at home[545] and the third one had family links to the court in St. Petersburg,[546] reflecting the international character of urban populations of early twentieth-century Helsinki. In all these memoires, Jews were perceived as a collectivity, not necessary poor but definitely preceived as foreign.

Whether seen from within the community by local Jewish authors, or described by outsiders, the history of Finnish Jews has been told and written as a collective story, where certain stages would follow one another. The past has to be narrated as a collective experience of a compact community of "the children of the Cantonists." The dominant narrative of the small community creates the memory of "us, the Finnish Jews." Emphasizing the common roots in the Imperial army, and being "children of the Cantonists" has been used to foster an image of joint striving for an equal position in the Finnish society. This has been a part of the self-understanding in the works written for the community-members as well as in the way the community has been perceived by outsiders.

The upward social mobility from a marginal position to an established middle class has been comprehended as a linear process considering Jews in Finland collectively; as if individual members of each generation would meet and cross the social boundaries in a similar, uniform process. This contradicts the realities of a business-oriented minority. In a community where everyone was linked to business in one way or another, wide income gaps were inevitable. As seen from the perspective of the individual families running a business in a small, ethno-religious community, there are few reasons to assume that all entrepreneurial families would face similar business conditions, make collective strategic decisions, and thus face similar outcomes in terms of economic and social mobility. Such nuances were seldom recognized by the gentiles in contemporary debates about Jews on Finland. As has been stated before, Jews have been remembered as poor, or they have not been remembered at all. By the same token, giving too much attention to the collective story elides the social and economic differences within the community. In practice, when Helsinki Jews got on to the business track, joined the lobby organizations and business clubs as Finns, a significant part of their history was excised.

The contradictions in the given narration and the contemporary sources imply that we must separate two questions: socio-economic background of Jews living in Finland and their social status in Finnish society. Ignoring the heterogeneity of history means that a major part of the history of bigger towns remains neglected. In the end, therefore, as much as this study is about understanding Jewish history, it is also about the way urban centers functioned in times past. By separating the social status of Jews from a wider context, and by thus explaining this status through the local conditions, contemporaries were able to contextualize

[544] Rath 2002, 5.
[545] Lüsch 1997; Ahde-Kjäldman 1964.
[546] Gadolin 1971.

the history of the Jews within the history of Finland as a nation-state. The problem is that this forces a transnational phenomenon onto a local question. More so, every time a part of the history of the Jews is elided, a part of the history of Helsinki is likewise lost.

9.4 Epilogue

In the early 1980s it was generally anticipated that the Jewish community of Helsinki was on the verge of disappearance and that, by the year 2000, there would no longer be any Jewish community in Helsinki. The coming generations would no longer value their Jewishness and the general secularization and assimilation process would swallow what would remain.

As we now know, this was not the case. In 2013 the community is small but certainly alive. What very few could foresee in the early 1980s was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. Even fewer could anticipate what that would mean for demographic changes and migration. There was again a massive wave of Russian Jews moving out, this time to Israel, the United States, and Germany.

Again, as most Jews – at most – used Finland as a transition stage, there were a few who stayed. Due to a general internationalization, what we now call 'globalization' – a term that future historians and social scientists will probably find more accurate names – also led people to move in and out. There are therefore Israelis and Americans living in Helsinki, of whom some have become active members in the local Jewish community. This of course opens a wide range of future research topics.

Appendix Tables

Occupational titles applied to HISCO Minor and Major Group Codes for 1915, 1930, and 1972.

1915							
HISCO Minor Group Code	**Occupational title**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Employed**	**Self-Employed**	**Male**	**Female**
02000	Engineer	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
02700	Mining Engineer	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
06100	Medical doctor	3	0.9	3	0	2	1
06500	Military doctor	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
06310	Dentist	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
07110	Nurse	2	0.6	2	0	0	2
07310	Midwife (and nurse)	1	0.3	1	0	0	1
07640	Masseuse	1	0.3	1	0	0	1
13000	Teacher, working for the congregation	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
13020	Private teacher	1	0.3	0	1	1	0
13320	Master of philosophy	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
14120	Rabbi	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
14990	"Parish clerk", private teacher	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
15915	Correspondent	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
17135	Concert master	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
17140	Musicians/Pianist	7	2.0	7	0	4	3
17145	Singer (student)	1	0.3	1	0	0	1
17150	Cantor and "shohet"	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 0/1	**PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND RELATED**	**28**	**8.2**	**27**	**1**	**19**	**9**
20210	Representant	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
21110	Director, General manager	7	2.0	2	5	3	4
21220	"Production manager" caps	2	0.6	0	2	2	0
MAJOR GROUP 2	**ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL**	**10**	**2.9**	**3**	**7**	**6**	**4**
30000	Clerk, secretary at the congregation	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
33135	Cashier, Office or Cash Desk	2	0.6	2	0	0	2
37040	Errand/Delivery Boy	9	2.6	9	0	9	0
39310	Office clerk (general)	5	1.5	5	0	2	3
MAJOR GROUP 3	**CLERICAL AND RELATED WORKERS**	**17**	**5.0**	**17**	**0**	**12**	**5**

1915							
HISCO Minor Group Code	**Occupational title**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Employed**	**Self-Employed**	**Male**	**Female**
41025	Merchant	47	13.7	0	47	43	4
41030	Grocery store owner/ Furniture seller	2	0.6	0	2	0	2
43200	Commercial travellers, Manufacturer's Agents	12	3.5	12	0	12	0
45130	Sales assistant	107	31.3	107	0	59	48
45220	"Narinkka" vendor	56	16.4	0	56	24	32
MAJOR GROUP 4	**SALES WORKERS**	**224**	**65.5**	**119**	**105**	**138**	**86**
57030	Barber	1	0.3	0	1	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 5	**SERVICE WORKERS**	**1**	**0.3**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**
MAJOR GROUP 6	**AGRICULTURAL, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FORESTRY**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
79100	Tailor	25	7.3	20	5	25	0
79130	Miliatry tailor	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
79310	Hat maker	6	1.8	4	2	6	0
79400	Cutter	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
79510	Seamstress	6	1.8	6	0	0	6
79565	Embroider	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
79620	Upholsterer	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
80110	Shoemaker	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
83220	Filer	5	1.5	5	0	5	0
83320	Turner	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
84100	Mechanician	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
84222	Watchmaker	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
87330	Cupper smith	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
92120	Typesetter	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
93120	Worker in a gloss paint factory	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
95410	Carpenter	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
97145	Warehouse worker	2	0.6	2	0	2	0
98135	Sailor	1	0.3	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 7/8/9	**PRODUCTION AND RELATED, TRANSPORT AND LABOURERS**	**62**	**18.1**	**55**	**7**	**56**	**6**
	Grand total	342	100.0	221	121	232	110

1930							
HISCO Minor Group Code	**Occupational title**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Employed**	**Self-Employed**	**Male**	**Female**
02000	Engingeer	7	1.7	7	0	7	0
03200	Technician	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
03310	Civil engineer, technician	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
05320	Agronomist	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
06100	Medical doctor	9	2.1	9	0	9	0
06310	Dentist	4	1.0	4	0	1	3
07110	Nurse	4	1.0	4	0	0	4
07120	Nurse (for Children)	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
07640	Masseuse	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
12000	Jurisprudence	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
13170	Hebrew teacher	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
13250	Teacher speciliaized in Music	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
13275	Preschool teacher	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
13320	Teacher	4	1.0	4	0	4	0
14120	Rabbi	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
15120	Author/Writer	1	0.2	0	1	1	0
15915	Correspondent	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
16000	Artist	1	0.2	0	1	1	0
17135	Conductor	2	0.5	2	0	2	0
17140	Musician, Pianist, Violist	5	1.2	5	0	4	1
17145	Singer	2	0.5	2	0	0	2
17150	Cantor	3	0.7	3	0	3	0
17230	Artist (Dancer)	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
MAJOR GROUP 0/1	**PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND RELATED**	**54**	**12.9**	**52**	**2**	**38**	**16**
20210	Consul	1	0.2	0	1	1	0
21110	Director, General manager	17	4.1	1	16	12	5
21220	"Production manager" Specialization unknown	3	0.7	0	3	3	0
22000	Supervisor, speciliazation unknown	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
22430	Housekeeper (private service)	2	0.5	2	0	0	2
22610	Foreman	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
MAJOR GROUP 2	**ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL**	**25**	**6.0**	**5**	**20**	**17**	**8**
30000	Clerks and related position	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
31040	Customs officer	2	0.5	2	0	2	0
33130	Bookkeeper, accountant	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
36000	Tram ticket collector	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
37040	Errand/Delivery Boy	3	0.7	3	0	3	0
39140	"Stock records clerk"	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
39310	Clerk	28	6.7	28	0	19	9
MAJOR GROUP 3	**CLERICAL AND RELATED WORKERS**	**37**	**9**	**37**	**0**	**26**	**11**
41025	"Businessman", (Merchant)	132	31.5	0	132	124	8
42220	"Procurist"	3	0.7	2	1	3	0
43200	Commercial travellers, Manufacturer's Agents	11	2.6	8	3	11	0
43220	Travelling salesman	3	0.7	3	0	3	0
45130	Sales assitant	87	20.8	87	0	47	40

45220	"Narinkka" vendor	32	7.6	0	32	16	16
MAJOR GROUP 4	**SALES WORKERS**	**268**	**64.0**	**100**	**168**	**204**	**64**
54020	Servant	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
58320	Sergeant	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 5	**SERVICE WORKERS**	**2**	**0.5**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**
MAJOR GROUP 6	**AGRICULTURAL, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FORESTRY**	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
77610	Baker	2	0.5	1	1	2	0
79100	Tailor	9	2.1	8	1	9	0
79220	Furrier	3	0.7	2	1	3	0
79450	Cutter	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
79510	Seamstress	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
80110	Shoemaker	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
83000	Metal worker trainee	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
84100	Machine operator	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
83220	Watchmaker	2	0.5	1	1	2	0
84320	Car mechanic	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
88050	Goldsmith	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
93920	Decorator	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
97145	Warehouse worker	7	1.7	7	0	7	0
98500	Driver	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
99900	Worker	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 7/8/9	**PRODUCTION AND RELATED, TRANSPORT AND LABOURERS**	33	7.9	29	4	32	1
	Grand total	419	100.0	225	194	318	101

1972							
HISCO Minor Group Code	**Occupational title**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Employed**	**Self-Employed**	**Male**	**Female**
02000	Engingeer, including "Textile Engineer"	21	4.5	15	6	21	0
02510	Chemical Engineer	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
06100	Medical Doctor	14	3.0	14	0	10	4
06310	Dentist	5	1.1	5	0	3	2
06510	Veterinarian	2	0.4	2	0	2	0
06710	Pharmacist	2	0.4	2	0	0	2
07110	(Trained) Nurse	9	1.9	9	0	0	9
07310	Midwife	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
07530	Optician	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
07620	Physiotherapist	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
07900	Laboratory Assistant	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
08110	Statistician	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
09010	Finance, Management Studies, Economists	8	1.7	7	1	7	1
11090	Accountants	2	0.4	2	0	1	1
12000	Jurisprudence	13	2.8	11	2	12	1
13000	Teacher, Primary Education	2	0.4	2	0	1	1
13100	University professor	3	0.6	3	0	3	0
13200	Teacher, Secondary Education	5	1.1	5	0	1	4
15000	Authors, Reporter, Correspondent	7	1.5	7	0	3	4
16000	Sculptor, Painter	3	0.6	3	0	3	0
16200	Designer (including the Commercial sector)	5	1.1	5	0	1	4
16300	Photographer	2	0.4	2	0	1	1
17000	Composer, Performing Artist	12	2.6	10	2	7	5
17200	Artist (Dancer)	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
17300	Actor	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
19100	Librarian, Archivist	2	0.4	2	0	0	2
19300	Social Worker	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
19500	Interpreter	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 0/1	**PROFESSIONS WITH HIGHER DEGREE; INCLUDING THE "LIBERAL PROFESSIONS"**	**127**	**27.3**	**116**	**11**	**80**	**47**
20210	Head of department in the Governmental org.	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
21110	Director, General manager	76	16.3	1	75	60	16
21330	Sales manager	16	3.4	16	0	14	2
21960	Transport Operation manager	3	0.6	1	2	3	0
22000	Supervisors and foremen	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
22110	Clerical supervisors	3	0.6	3	0	2	1
22610	Foremen	3	0.6	3	0	2	1
22640	Supervisor	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 2	**ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL**	104	22.4	27	77	84	20
30000	Clerks and related position	6	1.3	6	0	3	3
31000	Government executive officilas	4	0.9	3	1	1	3
32120	Secretary	2	0.4	2	0	0	2
39300	Stock clerks	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
39310	Clerk	16	3.4	16	0	6	10
39440	Receptionists	1	0.2	0	1	0	1

39930	Correspondence clerks	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
33900	Bookkeepers and cashiers	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
39350	Filing clerks	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 3	**CLERICAL AND RELATED WORKERS**	33	7.1	31	2	14	19
41025	"Businessman" Merchant	75	16.1	0	75	57	18
41030	Retailer	2	0.4	0	2	2	0
43200	Commercial travellers, manufacturing agents	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
45130	Sales assistants	43	9.2	43	0	14	29
43220	Commercial traveller	17	3.7	17	0	17	0
45190	Other sales assistants	7	1.5	7	0	3	4
MAJOR GROUP 4	**SALES WORKERS**	145	31.2	68	77	94	51
53100	Cook	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
53230	Waiter	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
53240	Wine stewart	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
54000	Housekeeper	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
54020	House servant	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
54060	Ship's Stewart	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
55130	Janitor	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
57025	Hairdresser	3	0.6	2	1	0	3
57050	Manicurist	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
58220	Police	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 5	**SERVICE WORKERS**	12	2.6	11	1	5	7
MAJOR GROUP 6	**AGRICULTURAL, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FORESTRY**	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
77630	Pastry Maker	3	0.6	3	0	3	0
79100	Tailor	6	1.3	3	3	6	0
79220	Furrier	12	2.6	7	5	11	1
79320	Modiste	2	0.4	2	0	0	2
79400	Cutter	3	0.6	2	1	1	2
79500	Seamstress	1	0.2	1	0	0	1
79620	Upholsterer	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
83430	Machine-Tool Operator	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
84222	Watch Assembler	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
84320	Automobile Machanic	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
85510	Electrical Fitter	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
97145	Warehouse worker	8	1.7	8	0	8	0
98300	Railway Engine Driver	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
98520	Tram Driver	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
98590	Driver	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
99999	Worker	1	0.2	1	0	1	0
MAJOR GROUP 7/8/9	**PRODUCTION AND RELATED, TRANSPORT AND LABOURERS**	44	9.5	35	9	38	6
	Grandtotal	465		288	177	315	150

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